

R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN. PART 1. EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED. FINAL REPORT.

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DESCRIPTORS- *CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED, *INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS, *EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE, *EDUCATIONAL TRENDS, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, ADOLESCENTS, MASS MEDIA, EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, FAMILY PROBLEMS, CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, ORGANIZATION, INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS, COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS, FEDERAL AID, FEDERAL LAWS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, MINORITY GROUPS,

THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA IN THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED WAS ANALYZED BY A COUNCIL SUBCOMMITTEE, APPOINTED IN MAY 1965. BASIC FINDINGS INCLUDE--(1) MEDIA RESOURCES SEEMED TO BE BOTH LITTLE USED, AND INEFFECTIVELY USED, (2) PROGRAM ADMINISTRATORS SEEMED TO BE UNAWARE OF THE AVAILABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF MEDIA RESOURCES, (3) MEDIA RESOURCES WERE GIVEN ONLY PERIPHERAL ATTENTION IN TEACHER EDUCATION EITHER AS A METHOD FOR TEACHER EDUCATION OR AS A TEACHING TOOL, (4) ALTHOUGH NO ONE SEEMED TO KNOW WHAT KINDS OF MEDIA RESOURCES PROGRAMS THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED NEEDED, MOST RESEARCH BYPASSED QUESTIONS OF MEDIA AND MEDIA USAGE, AND THERE WAS NO CONCERTED EFFORT TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN BASIC RESEARCH AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT. PAPERS COMMISSIONED BY THE COMMITTEE ARE INCLUDED IN THE APPENDIXES--(1) "TRENDS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS, ASSOCIATED WITH THE CURRENT EMPHASIS UPON THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD," BY GEORGE W. DENEMARK AND MARION METZOW, (2) "EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE DISADVANTAGED ADOLESCENT," BY DAVID TURNEY, (3) "MEDIA AND CHILDREN OF THOSE WHO ARE NOT LIKE US," BY DAORU YAMAMOTO, AND (4) "EDUCATIONAL MEDIA AND THE INHUMAN CONDITION," BY JOE L. FROST. "MEDIA AND THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED," BY VIRGINIA H. MATHEWS AND WENDA S. THOMPSON SUMMARIZES INFORMATION FROM COMMITTEE INTERVIEWS AND MAIL SURVEYS OF INDIVIDUALS ACTIVE IN THE EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED. "A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NEW MEDIA AND THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED," BY WENDA THOMPSON IS ALSO INCLUDED. (EM)

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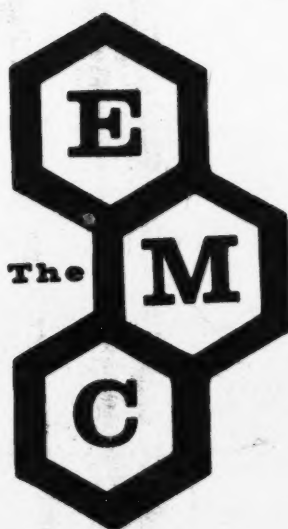
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The Educational Media Council

FINAL REPORT

Project No. OE 5-160032
Contract No. OE 5-16-032

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TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

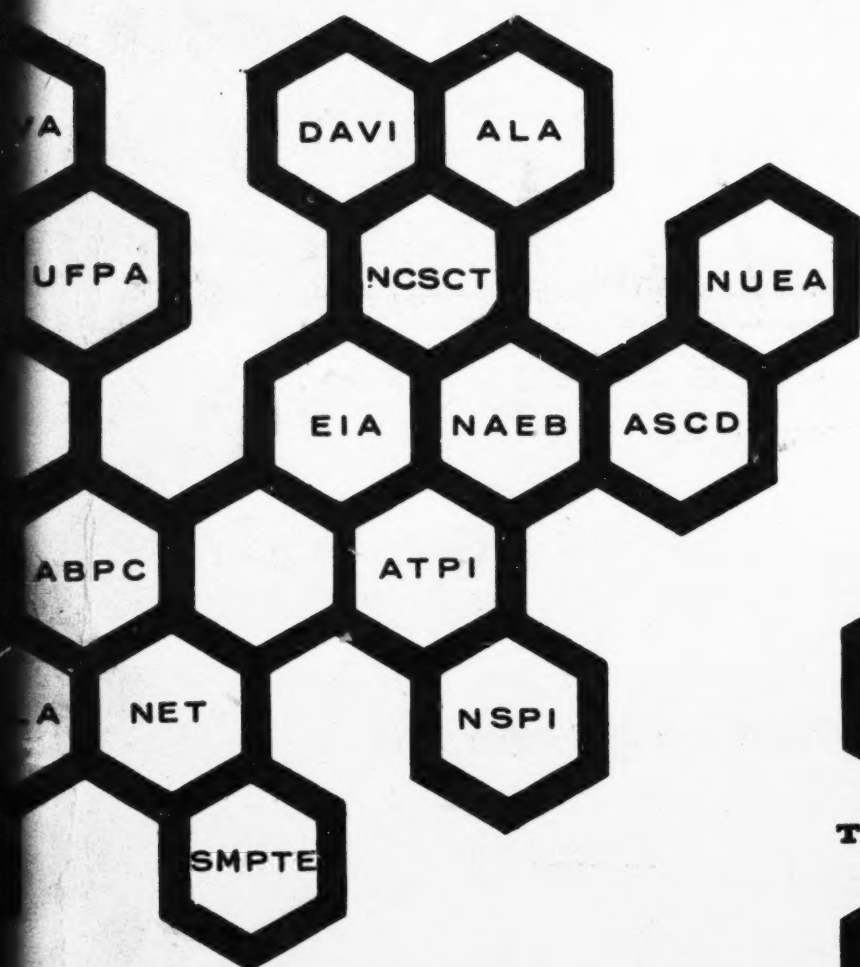
PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

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**A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES
TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN**

PART II: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED.

Project No. OE 5-160032
Contract No. OE 5-16-032

O. L. Davis, Jr.

with

Virginia H. Mathews

for

the EMC Committee on Education of the Culturally Disadvantaged

Robert B. Hudson
P. Kenneth Komoski
Virginia H. Mathews

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

Educational Media Council, Inc.

Washington, D. C.

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- Appendix B: "Educational Technology and the Disadvantaged Adolescent," by David Turney.
- Appendix C: "Media and Children of Those Who Are Not Like Us," by Kaoru Yamamoto.
- Appendix D: "Educational Media and the Inhuman Condition," by Joe L. Frost.
- Appendix E: "Media and the Culturally Disadvantaged," by Virginia H. Mathews and Wenda Thompson.
- Appendix F: "A Selected Bibliography of New Media and the Education of the Culturally Disadvantaged," by Wenda Thompson.

Introduction

The education of culturally disadvantaged children and youth is currently claiming a major share of the interest and concern of those who are developing this nation's educational programs. This present emphasis is clearly justified. Moreover, it is long overdue. The urgency with which educational programmers are working is heightened by the realization that the present problem, serious as it is, may not yield even to the relatively massive efforts being directed at it; and that, consequently, it may continue its ominous, cancerous growth. A corollary of this awareness is the naggingly persistent suspicion that the strategies and tactics being employed to confront the problem are, at best, inadequate and fragmentary, or, at worst, impotent and insipid.

In the present situation, caution, deliberation, and carefully detailed planning prior to action are not viable alternatives to immediate, decisive moves. Children from culturally impoverished backgrounds will have a summer pre-first-grade program. Some books will go into homes which have never previously known a book. Personnel will be employed for special programs for the children of the poor. And ideas hastily spun out will be implemented before their imagined conclusions can be stated. Such is the nature of the urgency, the power of the concern, the seriousness of the national purpose about this problem.

Yet wisdom has not been suspended in favor of action for the duration of the struggle. Wisdom, a concomitant of the commitment decreeing immediate action, mandates continuous review, assessment, and evaluation in order that the vigor of the action be fed and renewed by intellect as well as by passion. The education of culturally deprived children and youth will thus be served both more expeditiously and more effectively.

One dimension of the present task is the role of educational media in the programs enjoined. Not even their detractors have suggested that media have a limited role in educating culturally deprived children and youth. Moreover, many apparently believe that media -- at least certain types of media, or carefully packaged combinations of media -- may very well have powers once thought possessed only by "wonder" or "miracle" pharmaceuticals. Responsible thinkers have sought to examine the usefulness of the exceedingly wide range of media in relation to both general and specific purposes in the task of educating the culturally disadvantaged; and

also in relation to the characteristics and concerns of these learners, the social realities of the present times, and the demands and restraints of involvement in the substances of education. From this responsible position came agreement of the Educational Media Council to initiate inquiry, review, and study.

The primary concern of the Educational Media Council is with the quality of education and its improvement. Although member organizations of the Council are all professionally concerned with one or more of the educational media -- books, films, broadcasting, programmed instruction, etc. -- they are by no means predisposed to the promotion of any medium for its own sake or of techniques and materials per se. The very fact of their membership in the Council demonstrates cognition of the value of all educational media, used appropriately as variants in an overall schema for excellence in education. But because their specific areas of competence and responsibility are in the field of educational media, they are unusually sensitive to the fact that effective communication of ideas and reinforcement of learning can best be achieved through use of a wide variety of techniques and materials. This fact has very particular applications in the case of the culturally disadvantaged child, whose basic concepts and verbalistic development are limited by his environment; and it was instrumental in shaping the design of this study.

The purpose of this project was to study and analyze the role of the educational media, particularly the newer media, in the education of the culturally disadvantaged, a problem of major national concern. The study was designed in such a way that as a result of the project information about contemporary practices would be made available, deliberative inquiry would be pursued by competent scholars, and productive discussion and interest in media and the culturally disadvantaged stimulated within educational programs and organizations concerned with media and educational program development. Guiding the study were questions such as:

What educational needs and concerns seem to characterize this population?

What is the role of media in meeting these needs and concerns?

What types of media or media-systems might be developed to meet the identified needs?

How may existing media, including books, be used more adequately? more completely? more meaningfully?

How are media being used in present programs for the culturally disadvantaged and what are their potential?

What effects have the mass media on the culturally disadvantaged?
How may mass media be used educationally for these people?

The project's design enabled other relevant concerns, interests, and issues to be added to the study as they were identified. The nature of the study, therefore, was to explore; to "map the terrain," as it were; and to establish a solid basis from which other efforts, probably larger yet more precisely focused, might be launched.

Method

Following negotiation of a contract with the U. S. Office of Education in the early months of 1965, the Educational Media Council initiated this project at its seventeenth meeting, May 19-21, 1965. A subcommittee of the Council was appointed to conduct the study and to direct the Council's attention to the concerns and results of the project. The EMC Committee on Education of the Culturally Disadvantaged was composed of the following individuals:

Robert B. Hudson, Senior Vice-President of National Educational Television, and NET representative to EMC

P. Kenneth Komoski, Director of Educational Products Information Exchange, and Member-at-Large of EMC

Virginia H. Mathews, Director of Reading Development Services, American Book Publishers Council, and ABPC representative to EMC (committee chairman)

The subsequent efforts of this committee were assisted and supported at EMC meetings and on other occasions by representatives of the fifteen member organizations of the Council, which are:

American Book Publishers Council
American Library Association
American Textbook Publishers Institute
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development

Department of Audiovisual Instruction, NEA
Educational Film Library Association
Electronic Industries Association
National Association of Educational Broadcasters
National Audio-Visual Association
National Center for School and College Television
National Educational Television
National Society for Programmed Instruction
National University Extension Association
Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers
University Film Producers Association

Major sessions of the next four meetings of the Educational Media Council (October 3-6, 1965; January 12-14, June 15-17, and November 9-10, 1966) were devoted to this project. At the eighteenth meeting, for example, the Council previewed the McGraw-Hill Book Company's film, Portrait of a Disadvantaged Child, and was addressed by three consultants: Richard Smith, Senior Editor, Text-Film Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company; Dr. William Kvaraceus, Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University; and Dr. Martin Spickler, Senior Staff Psychologist, Project Head Start, Office of Economic Opportunity. Another example of significant Council programs was the appearance at the nineteenth meeting of Nathaniel Dixon, Principal, Scott Montgomery Elementary School, Washington, D. C. Assisted by two of the school's teachers, Mr. Dixon described the operation in this school of Project Discovery, a program sponsored jointly by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films and the Bell and Howell Company.

In addition to these program activities, the EMC Committee met on several occasions in New York City for planning and work sessions. At one meeting, for example, consultants included Professor Kvaraceus of Tufts University and Dr. Lassar G. Gofkin, Institute for Developmental Studies, New York Medical College. These consultants brought both information and informed opinion to the committee and reacted to committee-prepared working papers.

The Committee's principal fact-finding effort was a series of conferences with individuals responsible for programs for culturally deprived children. Interviewed were prominent educators in Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Wilmington, Delaware; San Francisco, California; and in several North Carolina cities. In addition, an EMC staff member

attended the two work conferences for directors of 1966 NDEA Institutes for Teachers of the Disadvantaged. The Committee further conducted mail surveys of media usage in the 1965 summer Headstart programs and in schools employing teachers who attended the 1965 Institutes for Teachers of the Disadvantaged. Other individuals active in the education of the culturally disadvantaged were also interviewed. A major outcome of this fact-finding inquiry was the position paper, "Media and the Culturally Disadvantaged," by Virginia H. Mathews and Wenda Thompson. (This paper is included as Appendix E to this report.)

"A Selected Bibliography of New Media and the Education of the Culturally Disadvantaged" was prepared by Wenda Thompson of the EMC staff. It is included as Appendix F of this report.

In the summer and fall, 1966, the Committee commissioned four authors to prepare position papers to bring additional scholarship and opinion to bear on the project focus. The authors and their papers are:

George W. Denemark, Dean, and Marion Metzow, Instructor, College of Education, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, "Trends in Early Childhood and Elementary School Programs Associated With the Current Emphasis Upon the Disadvantaged Child" (included as Appendix A of this report);

David Turney, Professor of Secondary Education and Associate Dean, College of Education, Kent State University, "Educational Technology and the Disadvantaged Adolescent" (included as Appendix B of this report);

Kaoru Yamamoto, Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Iowa, "Media and Children of Those Who Are Not Like Us" (included as Appendix C of this report); and

Joe L. Frost, Assistant Professor of Curriculum and Instruction, The University of Texas, "Educational Media and the Inhuman Condition" (included as Appendix D of this report).

In addition, the Committee secured the services of O. L. Davis, Jr., Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction, The University of Texas, who agreed to coordinate the final phases of the project and to prepare the final project report.

The final project activities included a one-day conference in Washington, D. C. (January 26, 1967). This meeting was attended by Committee members and by the authors of the position papers. Discussion centered on implications for the future use of media in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Following this meeting, this final report was prepared.

Results

The basic findings of this study may be stated succinctly.

1. Educational media resources seem to be little used in support of educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged.
2. Existing media resources, widely available, do not appear to be utilized effectively except in fragmentary and unsystematic designs.
3. Individuals charged with conducting educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged appear to be unaware of the general availability of educational media resources and uninformed about effective utilization procedures for those media which are conveniently available.
4. In those programs presently employing educational media, few achieve effective utilization. Program deficiencies are as markedly grave as the need for successful media applications.
5. Teacher education programs, both in regular pre- and in-service programs and -- especially -- in efforts to train teachers for special educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged (e.g., Head Start), seem to incorporate only peripheral attention to educational media. Media are neither used as training tools within these programs, nor presented and demonstrated to trainees as tools they themselves may use in practice.
6. No one seems to know what kinds of media are needed in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Consequently, this situation is confused by attention to superficial alterations in existing materials (e.g., race of children in illustrations).
7. Most research attention concerning educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged seems to be bypassing the questions of media and media usage.

8. Research evidence about characteristics and concerns of the culturally disadvantaged seems to be accumulating rapidly, particularly with reference to cognitive and language development. No concerted efforts seem underway to "leapfrog" the application gap between basic research and educational program development.

9. Most current educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged seem to be employing media to about the same extent and in ways quite similar to that usage in programs for more advantaged individuals.

10. When freed from the demands of application, individuals concerned with media usage for the benefit of the culturally disadvantaged can suggest both small alterations and major revision of practice as well as new systems, rationales, and approaches. The position papers attached to this report (Appendices A-E) and the Conclusions and Implications (below) are offered by the Educational Media Council as substantive contributions to possible implementations.

Discussion

This study serves to illuminate a number of critical situations in the present national concern to educate the culturally disadvantaged. The findings and implications are designedly impressionistic. They are presented as, and -- it is hoped -- will be accepted as the results of an examination of a major educational problem by thoughtful, informed individuals.

To be sure, their views of the problem of media usage must be recognized as somewhat specialized. Those participating in the study were and are interested in media usage in educational programs for the disadvantaged. They have nationally recognized competencies in several specialized media fields, and are convinced that media have important but unrealized roles by which educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged may be improved.

Throughout the period of this project study, those participating in the study influenced their own organizations, and were aware of the fact that their own professional activities were being influenced by the project. The Educational Media Council, consequently, served as honest broker to the general educational community in stimulating consideration of media usage in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Changes in the amount and degree of focus on the study problem by educators were expected and noted.

This study should not suffer the bibliographic oblivion endured by many project reports. The need for continued action, as well as continuing development, speculation, and research on educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged can be well served by this study. Not definitive or exhaustive, the study is also not a neatly packaged analysis of an untidy situation. Rather, its exploration identifies many of the unpleasant realities, many of the untapped resources, many of the unvisited but inviting opportunities.

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

Herein are presented some important recommendations deriving from this study. In some instances, suggestions or recommendations are stated to apply to a limited situation, to a specific medium, or to a small program component. In others, ideas are more general. Both types of recommendations are offered for review by and for possible stimulation of individuals and groups concerned with educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Each of the EMC working papers (Appendices A-E) contains additional, important recommendations in the context of their discussion focus. They are considered integral to this section, but have not been reported here.

Some suggested prototype guidelines in selection and utilization of available materials and in development of new materials

1. Materials should reflect more than just one culture or race.

CAUTION: Watch out for stereotypes such as the Chinese laundryman and beware of mere superficial changes in skin color, names, or settings; environmental changes alone do not reflect other cultures.

2. Content should be realistic and identifiable to disadvantaged children.

CAUTION: Content should not be limited to the familiar nor should it be morbid in attempting to picture the child's reality.

3. Content should deal with the emotional reality of the child as well as with his physical reality.

CAUTION: This should go beyond what interests the child to what concerns him, such as the much-discussed concern of self-identity or self-image. Situation, episodes, thoughts, must be as identifiable as the physical setting.

4. Materials should require greater participation by pupils and should elicit more responses.

CAUTION: The responses and participation should accomplish some worthwhile objective, and not merely serve to entertain and amuse.

5. More materials could be developed with the help of the disadvantaged than by someone else for them.

CAUTION: Adults who have lived an underprivileged life and have moved into the middle class may tend to create materials which avoid any reflection of this type of life and which therefore become mirrors of middle-class culture.

6. Materials which are problem-centered are desirable.

CAUTION: These materials must not be too difficult, so that they are beyond the grasp of these children. They could easily be constructed with built-in successes to encourage, such as the English S Program developed in Detroit.

(From Mathews and Thompson paper, Appendix E, 9-10.)

Action now; the problem is too urgent for delay of decisions in the hope that research will provide "better" answers.

The contention of one EMC Committee member -- "We can't wait for research!" -- states the urgency of the present situation. The statement should not, however, be misinterpreted as a suggestion that research should not be conducted. Implicit in it is an assumption of a complementary research effort accompanying but not preceding action. Several suggestions follow:

1. Anyone who has ideas about media usage in educational programs for the disadvantaged should be encouraged to develop them and put them into practice in a test situation.

2. Program development (and funding) agencies should make available "risk capital" to foster creative, even "off-beat" ideas.

3. "Research"-riders on development-funds should be dropped. Techniques should survive rigorous confrontive scrutiny; but having qualified under such evaluation, they should be disseminated.

Under such conditions, it is to be hoped, many good ideas will survive and prove fruitful.

Use available materials; stimulate new media approaches.

Available materials and media, many largely overlooked in present programs, should be restudied for their potential usefulness in meeting the educational needs of the culturally disadvantaged. Books and other printed materials, for example, must not be ignored, but must be employed in more effective ways. Television, in homes of over 90 percent of poor families, might well be useful in educational programs. Obviously, alterations in programming and in designs for TV programs are necessary. A nation well aware of broadcasting's power to effect changes in purchasing habits for beer and cosmetics can surely harness this great force to construct specially designed educative programs for special audiences of culturally disadvantaged.

Many appropriate media uses will be generated for individual media and materials. Nevertheless, a general "systems" approach both in marshalling media resources and in using the materials should be productive of higher-quality educational programs.

In this regard, two positions about educational media (both in general usage and with respect particularly to the culturally disadvantaged) may be identified. One, the traditional stance in education, ranks media as supplementary to the teacher. This view posits the teacher as the center of the educational enterprise. In this conception, the teacher need not incorporate any media, or only those he chooses as being "aids" to himself and his own functioning -- in other words, tools to help the teacher teach. The second position, incorrectly labelled "learner-centered", holds that media are designed to help each child to learn, and

must be used in combination with the teacher to accomplish the educational mission. Clearly, future developments of media should proceed in harmony with the second position. At the same time, there should be sufficient flexibility built in to support the education of special groups, particularly the culturally disadvantaged. In the past, the basically wrong questions have been asked: What can people do better with machines? What can machines do better than people? The proper question in a technological society like ours is: How can people use machines to accomplish a certain task better?

Because of the critical importance of reaching the preschool child, parents must be reached and involved in his learning; previous efforts to train such parents should be surveyed and reported; and both programs for training parents and programs for preschool children should be encouraged, expanded, and improved.

Every American parent wants for his child a better education and a better life than his own; yet the culturally disadvantaged, for whom the extremes of betterment are indicated, are the least aware of ways to achieve it. They should be extraordinarily responsive to approaches offering insights as to ways to improve the home itself as a learning environment, or outside help in the form of programs carefully designed to meet their children's needs. There are many ways to effect such approaches successfully, even when direct personal contact is impossible. Mass media should be used to the full extent of their very considerable power. Special printed materials should be designed, and special broadcast efforts mounted. Moreover, persons working in all kinds of community programs that benefit --or could benefit -- preschool children in culturally deprived homes should make specific and sustained endeavors to involve parents directly in those programs.

The EMC Committee recommends that past and current attempts to train disadvantaged parents for material assistance in the education of their own children should be surveyed and reported. An analysis of techniques proved useful through experience could be incorporated into a pamphlet for use in community or neighborhood centers, and the information should be widely disseminated to program design specialists.

In addition to programs for parents, ongoing programs for preschool children such as Head Start should be strongly supported by community agencies, educators, business organizations, and individual citizens. They

should be extended in scope to reach many more children, and improved in quality to assist those children more effectively. Other programs should be developed that are appropriate to the needs of children with special problems; and the participation of all kinds of learning specialists, including media specialists, should be enlisted and applied.

More teachers (educational professionals) are required.

The "bootstrapping" of many educational programs for the culturally deprived has been impaired by the traditional practice of a fixed (at a rather high level) pupil-teacher ratio. Prominent in particularly innovative programs, however, has been the increased number of adult, educational professionals in the environment of the culturally deprived. The success of these programs (witness the widespread attraction of the Bereiter program at the University of Illinois) testifies to the need for more teachers. Not only are more teachers and other educational professionals (including various specialists and aides) required, but also quite different, even radical designs for using this talent must be found.

Learners should have access to a truly responsive environment.

Particularly for learners who are culturally disadvantaged, environment, at least for a portion of their day, should be truly responsive. Reports of the use of O. K. Moore's "talking typewriter" with the culturally disadvantaged are dramatic evidence of the effect of electronic responsiveness. Yet children's use of this media system, according to its promoters, should not be used for all learning and for all children. Rather, it should be conceptualized as a subsystem in a larger, more comprehensive "man-machine" system.

Since technology is, simply, the systematic treatment of an art, the technology of educational responsiveness must include all components that bear responsive relationships to the learners--from carpeting to computers. In this regard, all media and most certainly teachers have critical roles. If learners need to witness their own power over things, as the culturally deprived surely do, they must be the selectors and operators (manipulators) of the environment (or a relevant, significant part of it). Most media are passive, almost fatalistic. Adolescents like automobiles, perhaps because they find them responsive; they are the automobile's master. When they shift, the car reacts; and they know they have power, and no one needs inform them.

An example will support this point. A learner studying biological life processes might decide for himself that he would like to look at a diagram in a book, or a single-concept film, or listen to an audiotape. Having made this decision, he would choose the material from storage, load the cartridge tape recorder, for example, and listen. Learners, in this conception, assume increasing control over the means of their education. In addition, learners must learn who they are in relation both to things and to people (children and adults). Media usage must be guided by this aim as well as by others.

For far too long, many teachers have not been responsive to many pupils. The present pedagogic tradition asserts primacy for the teacher's role of director of learning. Consequently, many pupils go all day, many days, without receiving any personal feedback, either cognitive or affective. As the concept of a total responsive environment is developed, as it must be and with considerable haste, teachers must become skilled in being responsive in their teaching role. Teacher responsiveness must not be narrowly circumscribed by a concern for personal affect. The notion of teacher responsiveness must be developed with adequate understanding of the varied roles of an adult leader in an educational setting who maximizes himself as instrument in responding to cognitive, affective, and physical concerns of learners. Efforts should be directed now to the necessity of making tangible the intangibles.

The media environment of the entire community should be mobilized for educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged.

Commercial radio provides abundant examples of its responsiveness to listeners. "Talk-back" programs are aired not only for the late-at-night audience, but also during prime times. A telephone call to the station "D-J" cues a requested record. Not only is radio responsive, it has developed a new intimacy. Announcers tell listeners to go away from the radio to buy used cars, to look at paintings, to talk to someone, or to read a story of true love. Also, announcers depart from prepared copy to talk about their advertisers, not always objectively, not always superlatively. Radio and such radio devices could serve both education broadly conceived and some dimensions of formal instruction as well.

Television, both commercial and educational channels, holds the potential of contributing in this area. Some shibboleths must yield, however, to make room for unconventional ideas. For example, children and youth in

store-front neighborhood centers could produce TV plays using low-cost videotape recorders. Varying formats for "talk" programs, as well as "talk-back" programs, should be developed and tried. Specially planned programs for parents, mostly mothers, might employ specific foci such as pointing out words on signs in the neighborhood to children; encouraging children to feel different kinds of objects for texture, listen for certain noises, voices, tunes. Experimental programs should systematically employ "dead" time (blank screens) or no sounds (video only) to emphasize student responses, construction, or thinking. Too, formats emphasizing a multiplicity of questions in lieu of a rhetoric of conclusions should be tried. Offering potential exploitation are 2500 mcs. TV productions employing responsive apparatus (buttons, dials, telephone). The impression is transparent: TV can be used productively in educational programming for the culturally disadvantaged. Task groups should begin work immediately to exploit this powerful medium.

Abandoned commercial establishments and military installations (e.g., Nike sites) should be investigated for possible use as experimental centers for educational programs. Summer "camps" for adults and children are possible implementations. Also, neighborhood centers could be used for trying out various media programs. Here, self-produced local newspapers could be written and printed. These centers might also serve as a kind of place for educational "happening" where some materials could be completely "used up."

Very important is the reorientation of school facilities to the future. While old buildings will not all be destroyed and replaced by modern facilities, they must be seen as a part of the community rather than being apart from the community. Opened before and after school hours, school facilities could be put to full-time use. To note that these facilities can be used in markedly non-school-like ways is to suggest that many such uses may prove appropriate when school is not in session.

We must recognize the fact that schools are not the central educational settings, perhaps not even relevant settings, for the culturally disadvantaged. Hypothesis formulation can then proceed to exclude or incorporate the school as appropriate to a particular educational task. In no sense does this mean that the school as community agency is no longer viable. This is to suggest that the school as agency may very well drop attachment to a particular place -- "the school" -- and particular technology -- "the teacher" and "the laboratory" -- in order to fulfill its mission in

the community. These decisions reached, the school as agency may become more effective, and increase its own potency by working intimately with the real power institutions of the community.

Systematic attention must be given to the messages being transmitted to the culturally disadvantaged. Attempts to change many of these messages must be initiated.

Most observers credit our society and its media with a single, overwhelming type of message being aimed at the culturally disadvantaged. Bombarding them from all directions are implications of alienation, segregation, valuelessness. Even the present War on Poverty seems guided in no small measure by the conventional "basket of food" strategy for dealing with the poor. In this sense, giving shoes to a child speaks powerfully to his father: somehow, you're not up to it, old man; you're not really a father in this society. Large-scale, intensive, and truly significant efforts must be directed to this problem of message. Without this information and the insights and sensitivity it should bring, most other attempts to incorporate media into viable educational programs will probably be abortive. In this task, most disciplines of the social sciences and humanities are relevant; certainly poetry, theology, and rhetoric, not commonly identified in the cupboard of the educational researcher, may be employed productively.

But action cannot await more complete analyses. Impressions must be allowed to generate possible moves.

Not all is despair in the inner-city. The poor know happiness. Pride is not absent in the culturally disadvantaged. There is much they themselves can do. Some possible implications of this premise have been posited in previous sections. Others are presented here.

Schools (and colleges) could encourage "off-campus" publications to come "on campus." Indeed, facilities could be made available for youth to do their own work, and at a low production cost. Patently obvious is the power of this medicine. The "little unauthorized" publications predictably will never be the well-manicured, largely insipid papers of the socially established. Yet such an activity is a constructive outlet for frustration, is a powerful vent for hostility. Trust and openness, laced with tolerance for people to be themselves, can provide such projects with success.

Poor people do read. Their literary fare is not characteristically classic. But, given the opportunity and the motivation, they read. They need access to more materials, more books, more magazines. This

literature need not simply mirror their own immediate lives; it can lift eyes as well as focus them. Efforts like a recent move by VISTA to provide book kits to neighborhoods merit expansion and continuance.

With respect to school libraries, budget officers and librarians should plan for book losses by encouraging rather than limiting circulation of books and magazines to homes of the culturally disadvantaged. Indeed, books could be given to children and adults. A cultural force in a community can seek out, or it can wall up and protect a sanctuary. The school as a cultural force should exploit opportunities to go out into the community, and to do so in company with other groups.

The communications environment of the entire community is relevant to these moves. The media of education can perform only a limited range of activities. The communications media of the community are particularly powerful and should be used. For example, local newspapers should be encouraged to allot space for reporting -- in story and pictures -- activities of all citizens. Too, newspapers can be used -- and used up -- for a wide variety of purposes in schools.

In all media, and particularly in textbooks, the messages must be examined. While social studies materials have recently undergone specific scrutiny, other books -- including those in the fields of literature, hygiene, and speech -- must not be overlooked. Yet, no purge is necessary! The concern should be to provide genuine, real, authentic reflections of life to schoolchildren. Publishers seem eager to cooperate in this concern; in fact, some would take the initiative more firmly and more rapidly with encouragement from materials-selection and adoption groups and fiscal authorities. As the culturally disadvantaged are better served, so, also, are all pupils.

Research specific to media usage for the culturally disadvantaged should be encouraged.

This report has asserted a first priority for action programs. This position must not be misinterpreted as a vote against research. Clearly, this study has revealed glaring shortcomings in the data base on which to make decisions about media use in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Not only is knowledge about the characteristics of the culturally disadvantaged sparse; it is also weak -- even flimsy -- in application to a number of crucial concerns, both theoretical and operational. For example,

recent research on perception and "reality" reveals evidence strikingly discrepant from that used to justify "stimulus saturation" environment for learning. Too, interest in the "culturally disadvantaged" seems, in the rush to be "interested," to have lost sight of the fact that there are quite important differences between disadvantaged groups (e.g., between Puerto Ricans in New York City and Spanish-surname populations in the Southwest, and between Negroes living in large-city slums and those living in rural poverty).

Research committees of organizations like the Department of Audio-visual Instruction, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and the American Educational Research Association should bring matters of this type to members of their associations. Special convention programs and journal articles calling attention to the critical need for research should be productive of researcher response.

Also helpful in this regard would be encouragement of specific research by the U. S. Office of Education. No other agency has so stimulated research in education. With this problem as critical in the national interest as it is, a small concentration of funds for research in this area would not distort the general thrust of research support; it would direct talent and time to the problem.

Funding for research in this problem area must not delay affirmative action. Considerable research in related fields is relevant, but has not been related. Some of the needed research is not costly. Research on problems in this area should yield generalizations applicable to media usage in general. Research must be undertaken in order that action may be more soundly based.

The preparation of teachers (pre-service and in-service) must include relevant attention to media.

Teacher preparation programs notoriously have neglected adequate attention to the use of media in the classroom. Moreover, they have seldom incorporated media into their own training programs. The urgency of the concern for more viable educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged must be taken as a mandate to change and improve this situation.

But attention to media must not be seen only as offering a course in instructional materials to teacher candidates. To acquiesce in this oversimplification would be to frustrate the basic concern. Teachers must

have productive experiences with media in their own learning as well as in planning for teaching.

Certainly possible are numerous situations in which media enable confrontations to occur between candidates and cultures, tasks, contents, and procedures. Simulated environments, structured and rich in media usage, based on models pioneered by Bert Kersh and others, are obvious. Such simulations are out of real-time, deal with limited variables, and enable the candidate to intellectualize his experience. The value of "real, direct experiences" is not denied here. Rather, emphasis is placed on that real and direct experiencing by which candidates may incorporate the meaning of the experience into their personal understandings and repertoire of skills. Simulation alone is not adequate. In addition, especially for teachers of the culturally disadvantaged, sensitivity training (through T-groups) is seen as critical.

The global concept of "teaching" must also be broken into smaller, more manageable components. Basic research on teaching conducted by investigators like Hughes, Bellack, Flanders, and Medley facilitates important first steps. Once small components of teaching behavior are identified, training plans to help candidates learn the skills are possible. Current developments of micro-teaching, presently in embryonic forms, represent a matching of media to teacher preparation. The next several years should witness acceleration of these efforts to use media to help candidates develop their understandings and skills of teaching.

An expansion, also, of the use of videotapes and films should be apparent. The demand for the observation of exemplary practices, not once, but several times, can be programmed using media resources. Gaining insights into the complexity of teaching behavior can be facilitated by using filmed (or video-taped) episodes in training programs. Of course, films such as these have had limited use for a number of years. Yet candidates have almost never viewed the films for the purpose of identifying and analyzing specific teaching behaviors.

The newer technologies also provide additional means by which candidates may engage in self-instruction. Certainly books and journals have been useful -- and will continue to be. But self-instruction need not be so limited. Laboratories for the preparation of materials, now rare, should become commonplace. Modules containing programmed components (e.g., for use in learning about the operation of film projectors)

should not be optional but, rather, integral in preparation programs. Many verbal constructs and special training tasks should be programmed for computer-assisted instruction. Developments in CAI applications foretell increased flexibility.

Leadership and regulatory agencies should increase their incentives for innovation.

Media usage in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged will not progress far ahead or lag far behind the general use of media in schools. Thus, it seems imperative that State departments of education, regional accrediting associations, and the U. S. Office of Education make provision for innovation and expansion of media uses in schools.

As a necessary early step, systematic in-service education programs must be designed. These plans must provide opportunities for teachers to "re-learn their living." Perhaps this component of a program is the most important, and will take the greatest share of time available. In this process, teachers should give some priority to understanding (at an operational level) of the principles (the constants) in order that they may change the variables.

Local school systems obviously cannot carry unassisted this added burden. They do not have the financial resources. They could divert some of their present in-service funds to this concern, but these amounts would be inadequate. If the problem is to be confronted directly, funds from State and/or federal sources seem required.

Professional and commercial organizations should expand their activities to give specific attention to media usage for the culturally disadvantaged.

This study has brought the problem of media usage in education programs for the culturally disadvantaged to the attention of several important professional educational and commercial organizations. These organizations, members of the Educational Media Council, Inc., have given considered attention to this problem through individual annual conventions, conferences, and publications. But this must be seen as only a modest beginning. EMC member organizations should continue this attention and expand it. To do less would be irresponsible.

Many organizations properly concerned with educational programming have not been involved intimately in this study. These include professional associations (e.g., the Adult Education Association, the

Association for Childhood Education, International), regional laboratories, and research and development centers. As attention to this problem is broadened, concerted effort must be directed to involving these types of organizations and, especially, their member decision-makers.

Some "next" steps for the Educational Media Council may be suggested. As an organization of organizations, commercial and professional educational, in the media field, it may bring to bear considerable talents upon the further consideration of this problem of media usage in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Several quite specific "next" steps are proposed (from Mathews and Thompson paper, Appendix E, p. 17-18.)

1. A comprehensive directory of available media sources might be initiated.
2. The Council might develop and make widely available guidelines for the selection and effective use of media for use with the disadvantaged.
3. Encouragement to schools for the development of demonstration centers for preparation, selection, and evaluation of materials should be possible.
4. Efforts should be directed toward greater parent and community involvement in the utilization of readily available media. Several "pilot" ventures, possible in cooperation with commercial television outlets, could be undertaken.
5. In-service training programs at the local district level should be encouraged, and guidelines prepared to help administrators develop continuous programs.

Probably more importantly, the Council should continue to provide a national sounding-board and forums as well as to serve periodically as an informed, friendly inquirer into current practices. Its efforts in these areas have effects far beyond its own membership.

Summary

This study analyzed the role of the educational media in the education of the culturally disadvantaged. The purpose of the study was exploratory in nature, initiatory rather than definitive.

Conducted by the Educational Media Council, an organization of organizations in the media field, the study design had several components: (1) orientation to the problems of the culturally disadvantaged and possible media implications, (2) fact-finding about media usage in a number of school-related programs for the culturally disadvantaged, (3) preparation of position papers, and (4) a review of findings and statements of critical tasks and suggestions.

Results of the study pointed up the general failure to concentrate educational media resources to assist educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged. Media usage seemed to be fragmentary and unsystematic, and those conducting programs for the culturally disadvantaged seemed not to be cognizant of media availability and utilization procedures. Programs designed to prepare teachers for the culturally disadvantaged, also, seem to ignore media. Research on the characteristics of the culturally disadvantaged is accumulating rapidly, but research concerning educational programs seems to be bypassing questions of media and media usage. Suggestions concerning media usage in educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged can be formulated when individuals are freed from the restraints of program operation. The position papers (Appendices A-E) and the Conclusions and Implications are offered by the Educational Media Council as substantive contributions to the field.

The implications and recommendations of this study constitute a major project outcome. They are presented and discussed in the following categories:

Some suggested prototype guidelines in selection and utilization of available materials and in development of new materials.

Action now: the problem is too urgent for delay of decisions in the hope that research will provide "better" answers.

Use available materials; stimulate new media approaches.

To reach the critical preschool child, his parents must be reached and involved in his learning; previous parent-training efforts should be surveyed and reported; and both programs for training parents and programs for the preschool child should be encouraged, expanded, and improved.

More teachers (educational professionals) are needed.

Learners should have access to a truly responsive environment.

The media environment of the entire community should be mobilized for educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged.

Systematic attention must be given to the messages being transmitted to the culturally disadvantaged. Attempts to change many of these messages must be identified.

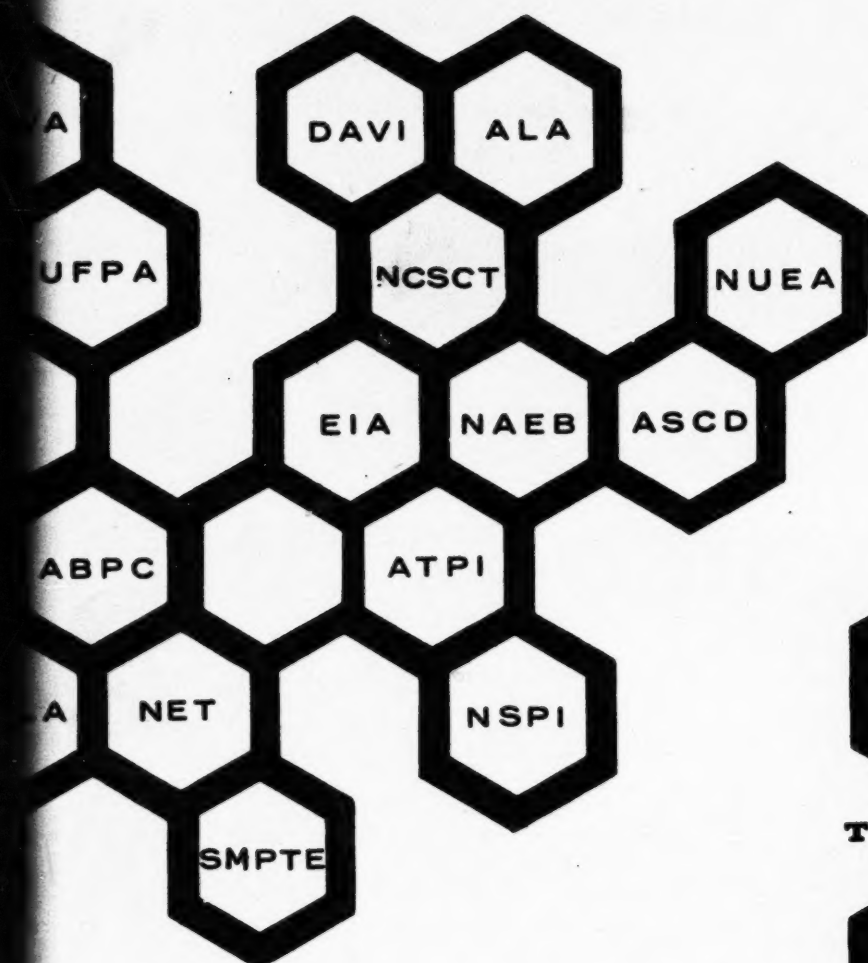
Research specific to media usage for the culturally disadvantaged should be encouraged.

The preparation of teachers (pre- and in-service) must include relevant attention to media.

Leadership and regulatory agencies should increase their incentives for innovation.

Professional and commercial organizations should expand their activities to give specific attention to media usage for the culturally disadvantaged.

APPENDIX A



FINAL REPORT

Project No. OE 5-160032
Contract No. OE 5-16-032

A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES
TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

May, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

TRENDS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS
ASSOCIATED WITH
THE CURRENT EMPHASIS UPON THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD¹

George W. Denemark and Marion Metzow

It is the purpose of this paper to review the impact upon early childhood and elementary school programs of the current emphasis on educating the disadvantaged child. The impact is likely to be of major and pervasive significance, for the level of public concern for education in general and particularly for the education of the disadvantaged seems unparalleled. Clearly, education is on stage and squarely in the public eye. Our society is relying heavily upon its schools to cope with some of its most basic and perplexing problems. The task is an extremely complex and difficult one, for as Harold Taylor observed recently,

The circumstances of contemporary American society are now making extreme demands that the educational system is not ready to meet. Demand for an education of quality for those who have until now been deprived of it, demand for the reconstruction of society from top to bottom in order to bring the fruits of an expanding economy in a post-industrial era to all of our citizens. The dimensions of the reconstruction reach from the establishment of equality in economic and social opportunities to the enrichment of the cultural and esthetic life of all citizens.²

While education at every level is undergoing re-examination and change the developments at the early childhood and elementary levels are of particular interest. It is these that shall be the object of our discussion in the pages which follow.

The national attention currently focused on educating the disadvantaged child has undoubtedly stimulated many school systems to develop programs to better meet the educational needs of such children. Thus one key development has been the initiation of programs with such an emphasis where none existed before. In some instances the success experienced with approaches developed

¹A paper prepared for the Educational Media Council, Incorporated. George Denemark is Dean of the School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, an institution that has made a major commitment to the preparation of teachers for urban inner city schools. Marion Metzow is an Instructor in Elementary Education at the same institution, supervising student teachers in inner core schools and serving on the staff of two recent summer institutes preparing teachers for work with the young disadvantaged child.

²Harold Taylor: "The Need for Radical Reform," Saturday Review, XLVIII, November 20, 1965, p. 92.

for programs directed toward the disadvantaged has been such that many of the ideas are being seen as relevant to the total program. This latter development will undoubtedly receive the enthusiastic support of many experienced educators who have long expressed the conviction that key elements of programs for the disadvantaged---elements like individualization, flexibility in use of time and space, closer school-community ties---have important contributions to make in the educational program of every child.

The Curricular Context of the Current Concern for the Disadvantaged Child

It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to attempt to separate the changes in school programs that have arisen out of the new concern for the disadvantaged child from those which may be associated with the other major influence on teaching and learning of the current decade---the curriculum reform movement. In previous eras of curriculum development our schools have tended to reflect a single major emphasis, at least in theorizing about them if not in actual fact. Thus we have talked of our curriculum emphasis as "child-centered," or "society centered" or "subject-centered." The current educational scene appears to be distinctly different and excitingly so, for it seems to have brought to focus a renewed concern for the individual expressed through the rapidly developing programs for the disadvantaged while still retaining the emphasis upon a reexamination of the disciplines and a restructuring of subject matter begun soon after World War II. Thus we find ourselves in a period when the attention of many university scholars and classroom teachers continues to be trained upon the organized bodies of knowledge while some of their colleagues are at the same time emphasizing the school's need to better understand and reach the children of all social and economic sectors of our society. The possibilities for educational improvement that can stem from the melding of these two key elements in curriculum planning are exciting to contemplate.

While begun prior to the successful launching of the first Russian satellite in 1957 the concerns for the effectiveness of our schools and school curricula as expressed through a reexamination of the subject fields assumed major proportions at that point. This was especially true in the areas of mathematics and the physical sciences. The curricula of many elementary and secondary schools reflected a conventional and long outdated approach to knowledge that seemed largely unrelated to the scientific and technological advances of the twentieth century. Public unrest coupled with the growing concerns of educators and university scholars provided the impetus for a series of projects directed toward planning new course content and developing appropriately related instructional materials. Such projects were undertaken initially in the fields of mathematics, biology, chemistry, and physics, and later in economics, English, and other subject areas. These study committees and the curriculum materials which resulted from their efforts have become well known and have reached into thousands of classrooms here and abroad.

Although covering many different subject areas and stemming from a variety of organizational or institutional sources the projects undertaken have shared to a considerable extent a common emphasis upon the structure of the

discipline with which they were concerned. Rather than being content to consider information on an almost unselected basis the new curriculum projects focused upon the concepts, principles, "representative ideas," and methods associated with the disciplines. Generally, however, the projects proposed not the explicit study of the structure of a subject but rather the utilization by the teacher of such a structure to organize and select content and the intuitive sensing of that framework of concepts and principles by the student.

The emphasis during this period of important curriculum reform has, therefore, been largely centered around subject matter and its more efficient and systematic incorporation into the learning experiences of children and youth. However, the impact of a series of urgent social issues---issues relating to population mobility and dislocation, to racial segregation or integration, to the impact of urbanization on family life, the adequacy of job skills, etc. ---have made clear the necessity for educational programs to include a fundamental concern for people and the social problems their group life engenders. It is from such motivation that the support for programs concerned with the disadvantaged child has come. Thus the contemporary educational scene presents a uniquely promising combination of forces influencing curricular patterns and instructional practices in today's schools---a continuing concern for the structure, fundamental ideas and processes of the disciplines coupled with a new sensitivity to the individual and our need to fit educational programs to his needs and capabilities.

Should educators prove successful in linking these two emphases they will be on the way toward solving one of our central and most perplexing curriculum issues. Too frequently the issue has been formulated in terms of an either-or choice between a conventional subject-oriented curriculum and an emergent interest-oriented one---between the value of stability or that of flexibility in the education of children. The current concerns in curriculum building for both the framework of relationships inherent in the subject matter studied and the shaping of specific learning experiences to the nature of the learner represents a development of fundamental importance and exciting potential. Clearly, schools cannot choose stability or flexibility, continuity or adaptability, enduring cultural values or urgent problems of contemporary life. Good education demands all of these components, not half of them.³

A Definition of the Disadvantaged Child

Before turning to a discussion of educational trends resulting from the current interest in the disadvantaged child it would perhaps be helpful to clarify the principal ingredients of disadvantage as seen by those working in this field. The definition of cultural deprivation utilized by James Olson and Richard

³George W. Denemark, "The Curriculum Challenge of Our Times," NEA Journal, December 1961. p. 12-14.

Larson seems to correspond closely with the points of view of many writers on the subject. It identifies four dimensions.

1. Language development. Underdeveloped expressive and receptive language skills will be evident among deprived kindergarten children, and will negatively affect their school achievement. Speech patterns will conflict with the dominant language norms of middle-class teachers, thus heightening the improbability of a successful start in school.

2. Self concept. An inadequate self-image may characterize children raised in a substandard environment. Self-doubt or insecurity may result in low school achievement and a lessened feeling of personal worth.

3. Social skills. The deprived child will have had minimal training in the conventional manners and social amenities accepted by his middle-class teachers. He will be unskilled in relating socially to his peers or to authority figures, and will lack ability to function effectively in a school group.

4. Cultural differences. Most deprived children will come from lower socioeconomic strata. Many will be members of minority group subcultures. Therefore, their behavior and beliefs may differ from those of the dominant groups in the schools, and will be less understood and accepted.⁴

With a top priority being placed on the more effective education of such children it is logical and important to ask what changes in schools are being made to accomplish this goal. Although changes are evident throughout the educational system from pre-school to collegiate levels, this paper is concerned only with those appearing in early childhood and elementary programs through grade six. The trends perceived seem to fall into one or another of the following five categories:

- 1) Changes in the content, scope and sequence of the curriculum
- 2) Modifications in the organization of schools and school programs
- 3) New developments in instructional methods and materials
- 4) Trends in instructional staff utilization
- 5) New relationships to other educative influences upon children

It should be made clear, however, that these divisions are identified for convenience in organizing our discussion of educational trends. They do not

⁴James L. Olson and Richard G. Larson. "An Experimental Curriculum for Culturally Deprived Kindergarten Children," Educational Leadership, XXII, May 1965. p. 553-554.

represent discrete compartments of innovation for in practice new priorities in educational programs are frequently reflected in new content, new instructional techniques and materials, new ways of organizing the school---in several or all of the categories we have listed above.

I. CURRICULUM CHANGES

One of the most important and pervasive curricular changes occurring in early childhood and elementary school programs is that associated with the earlier introduction of concepts and principles. This trend, associated initially with the curriculum reform movement growing out of curriculum studies initiated in a number of different disciplines seems also to have gained support from persons associated with the education of the disadvantaged. This philosophy essentially rejects the notion that early educational efforts should focus upon the provision of a storehouse of information with which students will begin to think at a later more mature stage. Instead it holds with Hilda Taba that...

"Thinking and acquiring knowledge need not be separated. The data on the development of thinking indicates that the capacity of general and abstract thinking develops sooner than has been assumed by the usual sequence. Hence it is not necessary to amass knowledge with which to think later... It seems that while sequence and continuity are important in learning the sequence consists not so much in the succession of details in the various areas of knowledge as in the continuity of learning steps leading to the formulation of ideas and the use of cognitive processes."⁵

Support for a curricular approach which emphasizes fundamental ideas and processes is also found in the writings of Jerome Bruner. At one point he states

"The basic ideas that lie at the heart of all science and mathematics and the basic themes that give form to life and literature are as simple as they are powerful. To be in command of these basic ideas, to use them effectively, requires a continual deepening of one's understanding of them that comes from learning to use them in progressively more complex forms. It is only when such basic ideas are put in formalized terms as equations or elaborated verbal concepts that they are out of reach of the young child. The early teaching of science, mathematics, social studies and literature should be designed to teach these subjects with scrupulous intellectual honesty but with an emphasis upon the intuitive grasp of ideas and upon the use of these basic ideas. A curriculum as it develops should revisit these basic ideas repeatedly, building upon them until the student has grasped the full formal apparatus that goes with them."⁶

⁵Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962, p. 188.

⁶Jerome Bruner, The Process of Education, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 23.

Philip Phenix supports this same general view but qualified his position by advocating the selection of content which exemplifies basic concepts, or representative ideas as he calls them, rather than explicit teaching of these concepts. He holds that the most fundamental ideas are not appropriate as explicit content until a rather advanced stage of education has been reached because of their highly abstract nature. Instead, he proposes that the function of representative ideas at earlier stages of the learning ladder is that of guiding the selection of content so that it will exemplify the characteristic features of a subject or discipline.

An especially promising illustration of programs centering around this structured emphasis upon the basic concepts of a field is one in economic education conducted in the Elkhart, Indiana, schools under the direction of Purdue Professor Lawrence Senesh. For more than five years the schools have been offering a program to first, second, and third grade children which exposes them to the same basic concepts in economics that are taught in college level economics courses. The problems and illustrations utilized in the learning units are practical everyday matters relevant to the lives and interests of the children. They are used, however, to develop understanding of such basic economic concepts as the conflict between unlimited wants and limited resources, the concept of marginal utility, and the ideas of specialization and division of labor. Rather than focusing on skill development and recall types of learning this program and others like it are introducing concept learning early in the elementary grades. These concepts will be encountered again at several later points in the child's education but in a context of more complex problems with the objective of deepening insights into the principle involved.

This curricular emphasis upon the structure of the subject fields and upon basic principles, concepts and generalizations associated with those fields should not be understood to mean that the education of disadvantaged children (or any children) should be primarily of an abstract nature. Indeed, the weight of evidence in the current literature suggests that particular emphasis be placed upon the concrete in planning educational experiences for disadvantaged children. The point is rather that concrete illustrations, information and facts be utilized as a beginning point but quickly placed in a context of broader generalized meanings rather than left as discrete, fragmented learnings. Children are capable of perceiving relationships earlier than present programs provide and are more likely to retain learnings if undertaken in a context of broader meanings and patterns of meaning. One writer in the field of mathematics suggests that grades 3 to 6 are probably the best times to deal with abstract science and math concepts and that the ability of children of this age to deal with such abstractions is in many cases superior to that of high school age youth.⁷

A closely related trend is that toward greater acceptance of broad planning of curricula at state, regional, and national levels while retaining

⁷William F. Johntz, "Mathematics and the Culturally Disadvantaged," in Educating the Disadvantaged Learner. (Edited by Staten Webster) San Francisco: Chandler, 1966. p. 573-75.

flexibility for a curricular decision at the local school and individual teacher levels. Such an approach provides for communication and cooperative planning between scholars, curriculum specialists, and teachers to identify and organize the major objectives of the school program in terms of basic concepts and important generalizations. However, the specific content utilized to communicate those concepts and generalizations is open to planning and selection by the faculty group or individual teacher most directly associated with the learner. John Goodlad of UCLA in supporting this position notes that we have often tended to confuse the constants and the variables in the curriculum, making the constants the specifics to be taught. Instead he proposes that the generalizations, principles, and modes of inquiry which underlie such factual material be made the constants while the specifics be left to the selection of the teacher and thus become the curriculum variables. This view of curriculum development suggests that the specific learning content selected for use will vary---indeed must vary---according to a number of significant elements in the learning environment. These include the interests of individual students in the class, the background, experience, and "style" of the teacher, the nature of the community, and the cultural background and ethnic composition of its members, the learning resources available, and significant current events that may have captured the interest of students and parents alike.

Another trend evident in current curriculum development is that involving greater emphasis upon inquiry and discovery approaches and the fostering of understanding of the methods characteristic of different fields of study. It is especially important to note this trend because it is clearly counter to a narrowly conceived "cookbook" approach which might be mistakenly associated with the emphasis on structure and the need for order in the educational programs for the disadvantaged. The emphasis upon selectivity in content and a more tightly planned sequence of learning activities has been tempered, however, by an approach which emphasizes the stimulation of inquiry and exploration in relation to the materials, situations, and problems of likely interest to the student. Here, too, we find evidence of a healthy and promising blending of elements of stability and flexibility in curriculum planning for elementary schools.

The evidence of a "here and now" orientation among many disadvantaged children has caused curriculum planners to make greater use of the present to lead into broader more universal understandings. Again, it is important to note that educators are not advocating that experiences focus only on the immediate and familiar, but rather that they begin with such an orientation and move as rapidly as appropriate to less familiar but more broadly applicable situations. Persons working in the curriculum fields of the social studies, science, language arts, and others have generally agreed that programs effective with disadvantaged children must be based upon their environment and linked to real problems within it. As Muriel Crosby of the Wilmington Schools observed, the curriculum should be "rooted in use value for the children."

Although rooted in the immediate concerns and problems familiar to disadvantaged children, the curriculum is seen as maintaining high expectations and providing experiences which will help to improve the self image of the child.

A number of persons working with programs for the disadvantaged have urged that the content of learning and experiences be urban rather than suburban oriented, as has so often been true of curriculum guides and textbooks. Attention to occupations, to housing, to transportation is recommended, handled in a context of interracial and interethnic groups.

A related curriculum development, as in the case of the Indianapolis Public Schools, is that which provides industrial arts and home economics or craft activity below the junior high school. Such an emphasis seems based upon a recognition that many disadvantaged children are motor oriented and that they learn more quickly and gain more satisfaction from activities which enable them to work with their hands as well as in verbal modes. This development, however, is seen as applicable not only to disadvantaged children but to elementary school children generally, for we are increasingly recognizing that different approaches to learning are necessary to better fit the range of children in school. It is increasingly apparent that different specific content, different media, and different approaches to learning may be needed along with different pacing of learning to fit properly learning experiences to individual children.

There is an attempt to encourage and motivate growth in reading and other language skills in all areas of the curriculum, while initiating study in those fields without dependence upon the conventional skills. Initial science study, for example, is often planned so as to emphasize the handling of specimens and other concrete materials and equipment and to minimize dependence upon written material. At subsequent stages, however, work in science as in other areas of the curriculum is planned so as to encourage the student's development of reading and other academic skills that will support success and achievement in an academic environment.

Another curricular emphasis is that placed upon cultural enrichment. Programs planned for disadvantaged children include trips to museums, to concerts, plays, and other community resources concerned with artistic and aesthetic value. Many programs, even those involving very young children, provide for field trips to the community and for the utilization of resource persons and programs brought to the school. A seeming neglect of the humanities associated with the curriculum emphasis following the Sputnik era seems to be corrected as a consequence of a growing recognition of the important need for many children growing up in urban inner core sectors to have broader contact with things of beauty and taste.

The utilization of camp and other outdoor education experiences is another curriculum dimension receiving emphasis in programs for the disadvantaged. Summer day camps, weekend camping experiences involving parents as well as children, and other programs which bring urban children in closer contact with nature, with growing things, and the out-of-doors all seem to contribute important learning dimensions.

An emphasis upon individualization is central to the thinking of most projects concerned with the disadvantaged child. There is more disposition to

provide for differentiation of learning experiences to match different backgrounds, interest levels, potentialities, and growth rates than is characteristic of our general elementary or pre-school programs. Particular attention is paid to helping each child develop his verbal ability, achieve an understanding of himself and others, broaden his environmental understanding, increase his intellectual understanding, and cultivate emotional and cultural resources.⁸ These objectives have become an explicit part of the program in many instances rather than generalized statements of purpose without specific provision for implementation. With increasing frequency curriculum content, a broader range of instructional materials, and the utilization of teaching teams are combining to provide educational programs aimed at better fitting the child rather than forcing the child to fit the program.

One final development worthy of mention is that which views remedial and supplementary skill development experiences as a regular part of the curriculum at all levels of the elementary program, rather than viewing such activities as outside the context of the regular program and available only to those with severe learning problems. Educators in many communities urge remedial and skill building activities in reading, mathematics, language, and other fields of the curriculum provided for as a normal part of the regular program on the assumption that most if not all children in school will at some point be in need of some of these experiences. The curriculum should be so planned as to enable children to move in and out of these special centers or activities in accordance with their particular learning problems and needs.

In a number of school systems orientation centers are being established to help children adjust to the community and to catch up in certain dimensions of their intellectual and social development before they are placed in regular classrooms. Generally the length of time spent in such centers depends upon the needs, the strengths and weaknesses of each child. Such compensatory programs have tended to place particular emphasis on language development and on the development of a stronger more positive self concept in certain social skills.

In summarizing the trends in pre-school and elementary education which have been influenced by our current interest in the disadvantaged child we should remind ourselves that a number of the approaches identified are by no means new on the educational scene. Many were being advocated in the 1930's during the so-called "progressive" era in American education. As we have observed earlier, however, what is new is the present melding of these ideas with the recent emphasis upon intellectual development through the organization and structuring of the subject fields. If we are successful in maintaining this mixture in good proportion we are likely to experience exciting new gains in our educational venture.

⁸Helen Mackintosh, Lillian Gore, and Gertrude Lewis. Educating Disadvantaged Children Under Six. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1965. p. 4-15.

II. EMERGING ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS

A number of developments relating to the organization of school programs have been fostered by or have at least paralleled programs for the disadvantaged. As is true with most of the curricular emphases identified earlier, few if any of these ideas are new. Rather they have received new impetus from the concern for education of children across a broader range of social and cultural levels.

One of the most significant of these organizational developments is the incorporation of the pre-school or nursery program into the regular public school system. Nursery school education in the United States has been largely a privately financed and administered operation. Except for day care centers where children in attendance were those whose mothers found it necessary to work, children in pre-school programs were generally those from family and neighborhood environments which already provided them with many of the opportunities important to school success. Recent experience, however, has caused us to conclude that the disadvantaged segment of our population can benefit especially from opportunities provided by a well planned program of early childhood education. This recognition, coupled with the availability of federal funds for this purpose, is causing a number of communities to introduce or reestablish educational programs under public auspices for children in the three to five year old range. It is ironic that we have just concluded an era when the financial pressures on schools and communities were often such that programs in early childhood education were abandoned in order to make the funds and the physical space available for older children. Now we are once again recognizing that these programs of early childhood education are not a frill but provide many children with an important and necessary dimension to their educational and intellectual development.

It was pointed out in the 1965 White House Conference on Education, however, that giving the deprived child a quick "one shot" pre-school opportunity simply is not enough. There is considerable evidence to indicate that the advantages of such an experience are quickly lost if not followed up and built upon. This would suggest the need for articulating these pre-school activities into the regular elementary program and possibly developing early childhood centers that will view the development of children over a longer span of time, with particular emphasis on facilitating their adjustment to an ongoing program of elementary and junior high school education.

In Chicago and many other communities arrangements have been made for what is referred to as a continuous development program. Such programs extend into the intermediate grades and continue a de-emphasis on failure and a greater emphasis upon achievement at an individual rate. The programs, rather than retaining a tightly graded concept with fixed achievements expected before the child is advanced to the next level, instead

attempt to view the child's progress in the context of his own potential and to provide an extended block of time to accomplish the desired results.

Many communities have for some time been utilizing multi-graded or non-graded approaches to early elementary education in support of their recognition that different children may move at different rates through a developmental sequence of language and other skills basic to the school program.

Another significant organizational trend has been that involving greater attention to the continuity of educational experience, pre-school through college. This emphasis is largely associated with the approach to curriculum planning which emphasizes basic ideas and concepts which have relevance to the education of young children as well as young adults. There seems to be much more disposition to look beyond the immediate level for which the observer has special concern and to see the implications for what is being done at other levels and the contributions of all to the effective education of the individual.

Variations in class size represent another significant current development associated with the concern for educating the disadvantaged. Most experienced teachers in this field emphasize the necessity of reduced class size to enable more attention and a more individualized approach to children. In some cases reduction in class size can be accomplished without reference to other modifications. More often than not, however, it is accompanied by a recognition that the variety in learning experiences supports variation in the size of learning groups. Small groups can sometimes be achieved where appropriate by arranging for larger groups in relation to objectives that can be accomplished through their use. Sometimes children are brought together in large audience type situations to view television demonstrations, films, etc. of broad interest. In other cases they are divided into small discussion or reporting groups or even smaller remedial and tutorial groups for special skill activities. In still other instances arrangements may be made so that students may study independently with teacher conferences at those points where the child requires special assistance in order to proceed.

Another developing organizational pattern is one which attempts to divide a large school population into sub units in order to facilitate better communication and contact among students and teachers. One such approach is the "school within a school" plan where a large elementary school may have its student and teacher population subdivided into three or more heterogeneous groups with block programming of each of these groups so that there are better opportunities for the children and teachers to know one another.

Two additional organizational developments associated with many programs for the disadvantaged have been extended school day activities and the extension of summer programs, particularly those for younger children. Both extensions of the school program reflect a growing

recognition that children may benefit from learning activities of a quite different nature than those scheduled during the regular school day or year. Evening recreational and hobby activities, Saturday trip and enrichment experiences have much to contribute beyond simply keeping children off the streets. Extended summer programs may provide fine opportunities for urban inner city children to have first-hand contact with outdoor recreation and with science and nature study materials, as well as with supplementary conventional academic studies. There is oftentimes a flexibility about summer study that enables the planning of special experiences associated with hobbies, mechanical or craft activities that would be difficult to schedule during the regular school year.

The organizational changes stimulated by a concern for educating the disadvantaged all seem to move in the direction of greater flexibility in the organization of the school and a greater capacity to modify its structure to different learning tasks and different levels of accomplishment.

More flexible use of time and space is fundamental to the approaches of many school systems in the education of disadvantaged children.

III. DEVELOPMENTS IN INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS AND MATERIALS

Basic to most of the new approaches to teaching the disadvantaged has been an enhanced understanding of the sociological, economic, and cultural backgrounds of these children. Educators have come to realize that the difference between the social and cultural backgrounds of teachers and those of the children they seek to teach often present serious barriers to effective teaching and learning. Often teachers come from middle class backgrounds and bring those values and behavior patterns to their teaching while the children they seek to influence come from lower class backgrounds and tend to behave differently and value different things. A broad range of activities have been initiated by school systems to facilitate greater sensitivity of teachers to the social backgrounds of children from other ethnic and social class circumstances. These include exchange programs with teachers from Puerto Rico or other sources of recent in-migrant groups, Teacher Corps interns living in the inner city during their training period in order to gain first-hand knowledge of the environments of the children they will teach, in-service education programs for classroom teachers emphasizing background factors, greater communication between classroom teachers and social service personnel cooperating with the schools, etc.

All of the efforts at enhancing the understanding by the teacher of the backgrounds of his children suggest the possibility of an approach to teaching which is sensitive to the feelings and needs of each child. The approach demands closer identification of the teacher with pupils, involves a more deliberate effort to express interest and concern over the personal concerns of the child, and a greater willingness to take time to counsel

and advise students, viewing this as a legitimate and important part of the school program rather than as a departure or deviation from the assigned obligations.

The concern for better teacher understanding of the background of the students he teaches has resulted in important modifications in the approach to their task which many teachers employ. Describing a teaching strategy for culturally deprived students, Professor Ausubel of the University of Illinois summarized his point of view as follows:

"...the learning environment of the culturally deprived child is both generally inferior and specifically inappropriate. His cumulative intellectual deficit, therefore, almost invariably reflects, in part, the cumulative impact of a continuing and motivational reaction to this environment. Thus much of the lower-class child's alienation from the school is not so much a reflection of discriminatory or rejecting attitudes on the part of teachers and other school personnel ---although the importance of this factor should not be underestimated; it is in greater measure a reflection of the cumulative effects of a curriculum that is too demanding of him, and of the resulting load of frustration, confusion, demoralization, resentment, and impaired self-confidence that he must bear. An effective and appropriate teaching strategy for the culturally deprived child must therefore emphasize these three considerations: (a) the selection of initial learning material geared to the learner's existing state of readiness; (b) mastery and consolidation of all ongoing learning tasks before new tasks are introduced, so as to provide the necessary foundation for successful sequential learning and to prevent unreadiness for future learning tasks; and (c) the use of structured learning materials optimally organized to facilitate efficient sequential learning."⁹

Ausubel's emphasis upon structure and sequential order in teaching method and material development parallels that described earlier in curriculum design. While a broader range of experiences, teaching approaches, and materials are being employed there is more attention being given to the rationale for these and the expected outcomes for each.

The experience of many teachers working with disadvantaged children suggests the need for teaching methods which provide more immediate gratification and reinforcement and which emphasize short range goals clearly obvious to the students. An important element is that of feedback, including verbal recognition, written analysis of the student's work, individual conferences, etc.

As mentioned earlier, approaches which utilize concrete objects and materials seem to be especially effective with disadvantaged children,

⁹David P. Ausubel. "A Teaching Strategy for Culturally Deprived Pupils: Cognitive and Motivational Considerations," School Review. LXXI. Winter 1963. p. 454-455.

particularly at the beginning stages of their learning in a field. The utilization of models, the demonstration of processes and the use of other concrete visual materials seems important to effective teaching.

Especially promising has been the recent development of a broader range of materials of instruction developed in terms of different levels of difficulty and, in some cases, differentiating between the kinds of skills required. A greater variety of media available for the classroom teacher helps to support a broader and more flexible approach to teaching and learning. Materials are being developed which de-emphasize the mere communication of facts or recall kinds of information and instead focus on concepts and generalizations and encourage the practice of problem solving techniques. A recent interest in programmed learning has encouraged a more careful analysis of the structure of many learning materials and the reorganization of textbooks and other instructional materials to clarify their objectives and establish a more thoughtful sequence of learning steps in relation to them.

Another important development in our concern for the disadvantaged is the development of new textbooks, library books, and instructional materials which meaningfully portray minority, racial, and ethnic groups. As U. S. O. E. Commissioner Howe pointed out recently,

"The world of 'Look Jane, look' usually is a white suburban world. . . . Daddy goes off to work each morning and returns each evening; mother stays home with her children and her pretty house and well kept green yard. What relevance does this scene have to the child of the city whose mother works outside the home, whose yard is the street. The world presented is completely alien, its elements bear no relationship to every day existence in the city."¹⁰

Fortunately, instructional materials departing from these stereotypes are now being produced by some publishers and are available to those school systems that wish to benefit from them.

An important methodological trend relates to greater emphasis upon working with children individually or in small groups rather than in total class groupings. Lack of self confidence and a lack of some of the conventional communication skills among many disadvantaged children often prevent them from operating effectively in large groups. The opportunity to work more intensively with a teacher or other instructional team member may greatly facilitate the learning of such children, for not only can it focus help directly at the point of their learning difficulty but may enhance their sense of worth and their willingness to try without fear of a public confrontation of their mistakes.

¹⁰Milwaukee Journal, August 23, 1966.

Another promising development is the utilization of remedial teachers as a part of the regular program rather than viewing remedial efforts as appropriate mainly for a small group of children who are having major difficulty with reading or some other aspect of the curriculum. Every classroom teacher may be engaged in some form of remedial activities appropriate to each learner as well as having remedial teachers assigned to regular instructional teams with time allocated on a regular basis for work with children having skill development needs. School of Education students at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee are assigned to such remedial teachers in Milwaukee elementary programs in order to gain experience in working with children in a tutorial relationship as well as providing additional staff resources for listening to children read, reviewing theme corrections, etc.

A similar emphasis upon counseling is a noteworthy current development. Classroom teachers are seeing counseling of students as a part of their regular responsibilities. More counseling specialists are being prepared and being made available to elementary schools to work with children who have serious problems of guidance and adjustment. Once again, efforts are being made to integrate the activity with the main stream of the instructional program of the school rather than viewing it independently.

IV. TRENDS IN INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF UTILIZATION

While not a development exclusively the product of programs for the disadvantaged, increasing differentiation of teacher role has been associated significantly with such programs. The problem of the self-contained classroom seems nowhere more acute than where the teacher is working with disadvantaged children. Here the demands of individualization, the demands for remedial kinds of activities, the demands for counseling and personal relationships with children are such that a single teacher is unlikely to find it possible to meet them. The alternative need not be that of fragmenting the elementary school program into bits and pieces that correspond with subject areas. Instead a strong element of integration and continuity may be retained through utilization of instructional teams of teachers, supporting specialists and aides. The concept of an experienced career teacher coordinating and managing a range of instructional resources, including professional and sub-professional colleagues, is an important and exciting one for the education of the disadvantaged and the education of all elementary children as well. This approach suggests the idea of a self-contained school rather than a self-contained classroom, for it is based upon the utilization of teachers with different groups of children and in different relationships to them. It suggests the possibility of each elementary teacher developing an academic specialty, not in order that the curriculum will be divided according to these specialties with a teacher working in only one such field, but rather that they be available as resources to work with groups of children or as consultants to other classroom teachers as circumstances warrant. Such an arrangement

would provide a wider range of resources within a school faculty to enable deployment of instructional personnel in a more flexible rather than a less flexible fashion.

But the concept of specialties for teachers and the differentiation of teacher roles need not be restricted to subject field specialties. Recent analyses of teaching have identified many important roles which teachers play. These include those of curriculum developer, evaluator, community relations worker, counselor, tutor, researcher, and many more. Such a differentiation of teacher roles might enable teachers with special competencies and backgrounds in one or another of these fields to play a larger role in that area, depending upon one of their colleagues with competencies in another field to assume leadership there. Still another dimension of teacher specialties may be seen in the variations in the modes or methods of instruction that various teachers employ and that different learning tasks require. Clearly, some individuals are better fitted for television teaching than others, some for discussion group leadership, some for demonstration of processes or manipulating apparatus or materials. Some may be especially suited for work with individual students while others are more effective in formal large group activities.

We seem to be moving toward a recognition that good teaching does not mean only one approach or some ideal combination of a fixed variety of approaches. Instead we are encouraging the development of special strengths in each teacher and then seeking to link these together in school staffs or instructional teams. As Miller observed, "There is no one best type of teacher, nor one all-purpose teaching approach. Teachers have to be permitted more independence, more scope, and more initiative."¹¹ And Frank Riessman concurred, noting that "There appear to be many types that function well with low income youngsters. Teachers succeed in different ways; there are many roads to Rome."¹²

Educators have long emphasized the importance of individual differences among children and yet have tended to neglect this same point among teachers, both in preparing them and in selecting them for their teaching assignment. Recent programs for disadvantaged children indicate that there are important variations among children as individuals and as members of different cultural groups, differences which may respond best to widely different teaching styles. We may soon reach a position where we will not only recognize that teachers of disadvantaged children may need different approaches and qualities but further, that among such teachers it may be desirable to provide deliberately for a range of competencies

¹¹S. M. Miller. "A Search for an Educational Revolution," in Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation (Edited by C. W. Hunnicutt). Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1964.

¹²Frank Riessman. "Teachers of the Poor: A Five Point Plan," Ibid.

and styles in order to make possible the combination most likely to stimulate each individual child in the group.

More imaginative use of qualified part-time personnel is another promising development that will likely be expanded in the near future. The statistics on the loss of young women to the teaching profession because of marriage and childbearing are dramatic. In some cases one-half of the young women prepared by a college for elementary teaching do not teach at all or perhaps do so for only a year before they marry and begin rearing a family. The increased needs for individual attention, for remedial and tutorial kinds of activities associated with education of the disadvantaged suggest a need for dramatic increase in the number of staff persons available.

The use of para-professionals, persons with training for specific and limited instructional responsibilities might further enable more effective utilization of the master or career teacher. These assistants might be available for listening to children read, for reading or story telling with other children, for playground and lunchroom duty, for the production of instructional materials, for routine clerical tasks, and for other such duties. Recently the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards sponsored a series of regional conferences and a publication, "The World of the Career Teacher," focusing attention on the need for differentiating teacher roles. The object of such differentiation is to make the job of the teacher more manageable and thus enable teaching to be better linked to the interests, needs, and potentialities of each child.

V. DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER EDUCATIVE INFLUENCES

A renewed rather than a new emphasis upon the relationship of schools to other educative influences upon the child is a significant trend of our times. We are recognizing that schools are but one among many educative influences upon our children and frequently a less effective influence than some others. Clearly, the influence of parents is and should be central in the social and intellectual development of a child. Recognition of this key influence upon disadvantaged children has caused many projects to move in the direction of involving parents in educational programs for children. For example, pre-school programs in many child care centers have attempted to involve parents in educational programs as aides and as resource persons. Special learning experiences for parents have been provided to help them better understand and support the objectives of the school. Efforts are being made in many school systems to develop more effective communication with parents, through meetings, newsletters, camping experiences, etc.

Samuel Shepard, Jr. of the St. Louis Public Schools has suggested a number of concrete ways in which the schools should work to help overcome the ill effects of cultural disadvantage on parents.

- 1) make available on extra-school time its buildings and personnel;
- 2) conduct adult-education courses;
- 3) make extensive and repeative efforts to contact parents and show by action as well as words that the school respects them, wants to help them improve themselves as well as their children, and has a program especially designed for them as adults;
- 4) provide information to parents relative to social services and responsibilities, work opportunities, simple and workable child-rearing practices;
- 5) provide information on family budgeting and the responsibilities of good citizenship---especially the importance of voting; and
- 6) stress the importance of hygienic health practices.¹³

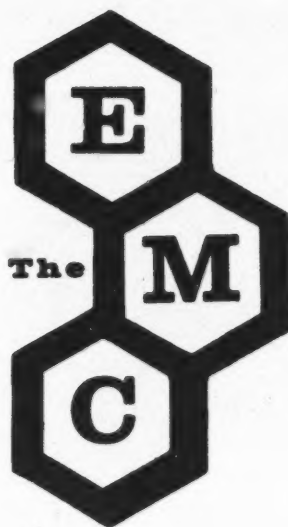
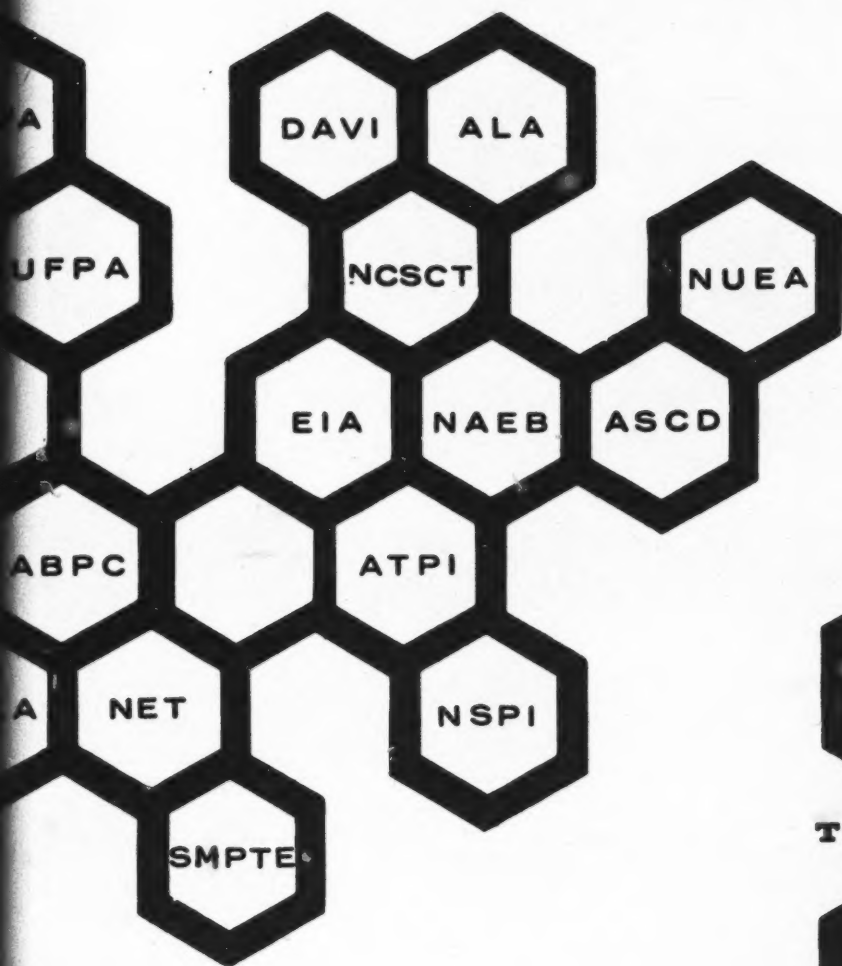
The community school concept developed in the 1930's is once again becoming popular, but now in an urban context. There is growing realization that the problem of education is not simply one of training children but largely a problem of developing a community supportive of desirable values and practices. Schools are beginning to become involved in activities associated with problems of health, housing, and economic well-being, as well as with an emphasis upon how families can help themselves. Community resources are being utilized in instructional programs in a greatly expanded fashion.

CONCLUSION

Our society's current emphasis upon educating the disadvantaged child is having important, pervasive effects upon the early childhood and elementary school experiences of every child. American schools are different and will change further as a consequence of the insights gained from work with culturally deprived children and their parents. Curriculum content and design, school organization, teaching methods and materials, teacher utilization, school-community relationships---all are undergoing changes as we seek to provide learning experiences that help each child become more nearly what he is capable of becoming.

¹³Samuel Shepard, Jr. "Working with Parents of Disadvantaged Children," Ibid. p. 48.

APPENDIX B



The Educational Media Council

FINAL REPORT

Project No. OE 5-160032
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A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

May, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE DISADVANTAGED ADOLESCENT*

by
David Turney

At a time when the quick-step march of technology continually dictates change in the very nature of our existence, we educators study the technological revolution looking for ways that the fruits of our scientific knowledge can be harnessed for the improved solution of fundamental educational problems that have been with us so long. Presently, much of our effort seems related to concerns of quality in intellectual development and we read of attempts to correct English themes through the use of computers and of large scale plans for information retrieval and storage.

Is it possible that among these new technological approaches to education that there are some applications peculiarly suited to youth who enter and live in our schools with specific disadvantages? An attempt will be made in this essay to develop some useful hypotheses as to ways in which the new educational technology may be uniquely adapted to the learning needs of adolescents with specific learning disabilities.

I

The literature on culturally different youth--especially those from the inner-cities--is replete with examples of the adolescent who appears to mistrust most adults. We also note that this lack of ability to relate to adults is often coupled with an additional distrust of the school and teachers as representatives of the central forces of the external culture that is held responsible for most of the sub culture's difficulties. The drop out and pre-drop out usually detests school and teachers with a passion. It is as if, through repeated failure and disastrous personal experience, these young people have become sensitized against schooling and all that it has come to mean to them. It is also likely that human intervention in the educational process is closely associated in their minds with this built-in aversion.

This line of thinking leads to our first hypothesis: If the teacher has come to be associated by youth with failure and unpleasant experiences, then the most fruitful fresh approach to the education of such persons should involve as little human intervention in the learning process as possible.

If the human element appears to be a major source of interference in the learning process, why not shift to nonhuman approaches for our new beginning?

*A paper prepared for the Educational Media Council, Inc.

What we have in mind here is an array of programed materials, self tutoring devices and responsive environment approaches to learning. This is not to argue that such nonhuman, technological approaches to learning are superior for all learners in all situations but only to suggest that for some youth in some situations they may be the only accessible route to learning at a particular time. Programed approaches which are closely keyed to pupil capacity, which have no power to reproach or punish and which are a reliable source of reward for successful responses, may represent the only kind of learning situation that appears "safe" enough for adolescents who have learned well the lesson that adults are not to be trusted.

Thus far the learning program does not respond to an erroneous answer by sending notes to the principal or to the parent. It cannot, by employing subtle, nonverbal, means imply any dislike or rejection of any particular pupil. The pupil never has to wait his turn to be called upon for response, and he never need wave his hand frantically to attract the glance of a teacher whose attention may be ordinarily directed to the more comely, the more brilliant or the more docile. Finally, an earned reward is never withheld because the pupil doesn't have the "proper attitude."

Unfortunately, the bulk of programed material available thus far has not been designed with the needs of the disadvantaged child in mind. We need a variety of programs aimed at the development of skill in handling symbolic processes such as language, mathematical symbolic systems, musical notation and the like. Some of these programs should be available in the responsive environment format such as that used by Moore in his "talking typewriter" approach to reading instruction. The presentation of learning programs by means of the sound filmstrip should be given extensive trials with disadvantaged pupils.

Additional programs aimed at the development of contextual meaning are badly needed for use with the alienated adolescent. The program must present more than just the symbols and the inter-relationships between symbols; it must also surround the symbol with an array of illustrative auditory and visual cues that will assist the learner to attach meaning to the symbols presented.

Further, the programs used with youth who view the school and teacher with distrust must be aimed at learning goals suitable for learners with these disadvantages. The hardware itself is nothing more than a medium or facility for the solution of a particular set of problems. It is on the software, the learning program itself, that we must focus our attention and effort. What is really needed is a thorough going curriculum revision including the establishment of realistic and attainable goals, sound program design and accurate evaluation of pupil accomplishment. We must abandon completely the practice of placing pupils in courses of study for which adequate skill development has not been completed. We must desist

in our practice of expecting pupils to respond to learning experiences when essential prerequisite knowledge or information has not been supplied. We must eliminate pressure applied to the psychologically maimed and the physically inadequate, and heal before we teach.

When we consider the handicaps of some of the pupils who come to us from disadvantaged areas, it is evident that even the nonhuman new beginning will be inadequate for some. This leads us to two corollaries of our first hypothesis:

1. Initially, the learning setting and process should resemble formal schooling as little as possible.
2. Initially, the book learning format of formal education should be kept at a minimum.

Healing for damaged youth will require an atmosphere different from that normally suitable for teaching. Not only have we offered a standard set of learning experiences to the disadvantaged adolescent, but we also appear to have assumed that a standard living environment will be equally desirable for all pupils. Obviously some youth will first require some time in a special setting where the goals are nonacademic rather than procedural. For some we can be sure that their out-of-school environment has been so chaotic and unpredictable that they will need to live for a while in a setting where the rules are simple and completely reliable--where a new pattern of living can be experienced and understood--where some degree of societal order can be developed on a very simple basis. Within such a setting the responsive environment can be introduced slowly and carefully as the pupils gain courage and security.

II

Programmatic approaches to group learning situations are surely possible, and are essential if such youth are ever to move from learning in a tutoring context to the group-centered procedures in which most conventional instruction takes place.

Once the learning process can be re-started for the educationally alienated, the problem of rebuilding effective human relationships may be approached, or perhaps implemented, at about the same time.

The disadvantaged and often alienated adolescent must be helped to find his way back into the human community of learners. He must be

assisted to reconstruct the human links in the educational process. Technology can teach, but it cannot inspire. It has capacities, but human warmth is not among them. It can help you learn the "bag of tricks", but it cannot give you clues as to how these capabilities are to be employed in human intercourse.

Our problem here is to consider how technology might help the disenchanting pupil rebuild his ability to communicate with other human beings, to assist him to construct some reliable bases for human trust and understanding, and to modify his own self-image in a positive direction through the reflections of self he can observe in others he has come to respect.

To do this we must bring groups of such individuals together and contrive ways in which such aims as listed above can be achieved.

This leads us to our second hypothesis, which is: If the pupil is mistrustful and alienated from other human beings, then situations in which he must select courses of action in concert with other youth and/or adults should require him to develop the interpersonal understandings and mutual confidence essential to effective human relationships.

For this undertaking we see some hopeful possibilities in the form of simulation games in which groups of pupils are engaged in cooperative problem-solving within the game context. The usefulness of simulation games in business education now appears to be well established, although the central concern in the development of this technological approach to learning has been the development of problem-solving abilities. It is possible that this same learning context could be quite useful for the development of the interpersonal knowledge and mutual confidence that is generally a prerequisite to effective human relationships.

Games have always been a medium through which we learn about others. In bridge, for example, we can learn much about the relative dependability or capriciousness of a partner. In more complicated games such as chess, one quickly discerns clues to the opponent's life style. But beyond this, the games in which a group must work for some common goal have exceptional capabilities for fostering interpersonal learnings.

The simulation game has a number of characteristics that may render it ideal for the development of interpersonal learning. First, games can be planned so that the group playing can always see some measure of success as a consequence of its actions. Second, failure, when it is introduced, is borne by the group and not the individual. Third, the rules of

the game constitute what Marie Hughes has called public criteria which are nonjudgmental in their consequences. Fourth the motivational pull of a well-devised game is very powerful. Fifth, the simulation game is usually a reasonably close approximation of reality which should provide an easy entrance for the pupil who functions at a relatively low level of abstraction.

Simulation games now available commercially have not been devised with the needs of the alienated child in mind, but the very kinds of games that would be most useful would probably be considerably less sophisticated in design than those presently employed in business training.

Current applications of the simulation technique that suggest how suitable modifications could be made for the purposes specified here are exemplified in the Inter-Nation Simulation Game produced by Science Research Associates and the War and Peace Game described in the November, 1966, issue of Social Education.

The simulation applications for educational purposes developed by Bert Kersch and Associates in Monmouth, Oregon, give additional testimony to the rich possibilities in this medium.

Couple these technological possibilities with what we know now about role playing, socio drama, and the wealth of personal interaction that can be developed through well-planned field experiences; and we have at least a foundation of techniques upon which the rebuilding of interpersonal relationships may be erected.

In this connection the central problem in development of the games would be to make them at the beginning wholly pertinent to the pupils' reality now -- while, over a period of time, leading them toward long-term but realistic dreams and hopes. Boocock and Coleman, in Sociology of Education, Summer 1966, have much to say that is relevant to this problem.

III

Thus far major attempts to provide compensatory educational experiences for children living in urban subcultures have been developed within institutional settings. That is to say, children have been removed from the home and neighborhood milieu and grouped together in some center where a new and different environment and experiences have been provided. An alternative approach could be mounted by saturating the

neighborhood with communication media designed to provide the compensatory experience in an informal way.

If it is correct to assume that the disadvantaged are wary and distrustful of all institutions including the school, we are led to our third hypothesis, which states that: If the subcultures from which children enter our schools are barren of printed and visual materials, then a saturation approach to this problem within the neighborhood should mediate this source of disadvantage.

In this connection we would think first of a vastly expanded educational television facility in which programming would focus sharply on providing the following kinds of viewing:

First, types of skill-development programs could be devised that would present verbal symbols within a rich context of meaningful pictorial illustrations. It would appear theoretically possible to program such presentations so as to help children and youth build an array of meanings for many of the abstract terms they will have difficulty learning without the wealth of association most children have available. Further, it could be very useful to present programs in which written text and spoken word are presented simultaneously, and in which the spoken cues could be progressively faded. Again, a "game" context could be used for programming purposes.

Second, programs could be devised that would make truly admirable models of adult male and female behavior available for the viewing of young persons. Inner-city youth so often lack suitable models of male behavior, and those female models present in the home may often be distorted because of the environmental pressures in which they must manifest themselves. Suitable portrayals of adult roles could be developed through the use of conflict situations that would not only be constructive as models to emulate, but would also be first-rate drama.

Third, programs could be devised that would help adolescents learn what it is possible for them to become in this bewildering world of ours. A set of types of "higher horizons" experiences on television that would also be biographic in nature, featuring persons whose antecedents lie in a disadvantaged area, could reveal both the varieties of possibility open to youth and some routes through which others had made their way toward these distant goals. Long-term motivation must ultimately rest in part on dreams and hopes. Surely we are clever enough to devise the kinds of programs from which such dreams can be spun.

There is, however, one very real danger inherent in the heavy use of television in disadvantaged neighborhoods. It appears to be characteristic of both children and adults in such areas that they are basically controlled by their environment. One sees few attempts by those who live in deprived subcultures to change either their physical or social environments. Simple clean-up campaigns, for example, are mounted only through great effort, and are soon dissipated once external pressure is removed. These people seem either to lack techniques for dealing with their environment, or else to be so thoroughly disillusioned concerning the effectiveness of their tactics that they no longer feel they are worth trying.

Television is at present a nonresponsive medium, and heavy use would simply add to the individual's environment another component over which he had no control.

Perhaps we should consider adding to the television set that already exists in most of the homes a telephone direct-line to the television studio with a simple dial marked like those in hotels so that the viewer could, by dialing, call for advice or information, and react directly to programs that were transmitted over the system. The current popularity of "talk-back" programs on radio suggests that the possibility of influencing the course of events being listened to is intriguing to the public. If an individual could communicate his feelings about a presentation viewed to another person whose reactions could be seen, this would provide instantaneous confirmation of his ability to influence the course of events through his own efforts.

The technical difficulties involved in providing such a responsive system do not seem to be insurmountable.

The success of the paperbound book publishing venture suggests another technological approach to learning for use within the neighborhood setting. Strategically located small bookstalls within an inner-city community could be stocked with paperbound editions of these stories that teachers of disadvantaged youth have already found to be especially appealing and interesting.

Abandoned store buildings or mobile vans could be used as distribution sites for this enterprise with persons from the neighborhood employed as attendants.

Obviously, new materials could be created to fit the special needs of these adolescents. Such a venture would need heavy subsidization, with the materials selling for as little as a penny a copy.

In addition to providing merchandizing outlets for these materials, it would be interesting to establish duplicating centers throughout the neighborhood, where neighborhood newspapers, children's writings, signs, posters and other types of communication could be published. If one of our purposes in education is to initiate disadvantaged youth into the print culture of the dominant community, why not develop an indigenous print culture in the disadvantaged neighborhood?

If we wish to make interesting reading material available to our young people in neighborhood book stalls, why not have some of it written by the people in the neighborhood? This would be one simple way to insure that the content of the materials would reflect the values and problems of the neighborhood culture.

In a like manner, a neighborhood radio station or television station could be used to develop communication within a specific area. Programs developed by residents of the neighborhood should, over a period of time, change the attitudes of all residents toward the value and importance of human communication.

Lastly, it might be possible to develop neighborhood automated-learning centers where programmed devices of all types might be set up--some for free play and perhaps some that could be played with tokens that could be redeemable for small prizes.

It could be objected that the cost of developing the decentralized neighborhood approaches described above would be prohibitive; however, present federal programs aimed at these segments of our population are already costly; and as yet, there is no solid evidence of their effectiveness. Our third hypothesis, previously stated, is at least as plausible as the one underlying the Head Start efforts, and should be worth testing in at least a pilot effort.

IV

Some of the possibilities outlined in this paper imply that some relatively fundamental changes in educational administrative design would have to be created in order to implement the proposals made. Unless

new and separate educational agencies were created, the organizational structure of present school systems would have to be modified to support the developments proposed.

Our fourth hypothesis follows, and states that: If we attempt to de-institutionalize the educational processes, radically different administrative approaches and procedures will have to be devised.

If we attempt to use the neighborhood arena for educational purposes, it is quite likely that many young people would not be participating, at least regularly, in the institutionalized educational process. This would present a major problem in pupil accounting, and would render present systems of financial support virtually unworkable. Perhaps some method of checking participation using pre-punched IBM cards that could be collected in many centers and collated at some central point could be employed. Financing might be based on a unit use basis.

Again the logistical problems involved in devising educational processes for the neighborhood arena would be staggering, to say the least.

For example, the library-stockroom problem becomes formidable once we really move to an individualized programmed approach to learning. The problems involved in the development of specialized learning materials needed by individuals would dictate that the curriculum development facilities of a school system be vastly expanded. Such an approach to the education of the disadvantaged should require a learning resources center of far greater potential than anything we have attempted thus far. Such a development as envisaged here suggests that the roles of the assistant superintendent in charge of instruction, the educational research bureau director, the school psychologist, educational media specialist, and librarians would be far more important than they are at present.

On the shoulders of the assistant superintendent in charge of instruction would fall the tremendous task of insuring continuity between the in-school and out-of-school components of the educational establishment. Not only would mechanisms for pupil mobility between the two components have to be devised, but also continuity between out-of-school and in-school learning would have to be provided for.

The establishment of a large sector of the educational enterprise outside of the institutional setting would, of course, multiply difficulties for the educational researcher. Process variables would be multiplied

and confounded, making causal relationships even more difficult to establish than they are at present. Further, we would expect the educational researcher to play a prominent role both in the definition of measurable goals for the system and in the construction of useful measurement tools for the processes set in motion.

In concert with the educational researchers, the school psychologist would surely become deeply involved in the production of specific learning materials as well as the diagnosis of curriculum needs. One might anticipate that psychological clinical work with youth might be combined with what is now categorized as "guidance", and constitute a field of work separate and different from that of the educational psychologist who would be primarily a learning specialist working principally on program construction.

The educational media specialist would probably move into the neighborhood setting, and coordinate his work there with the school system center. Maintenance problems would become vastly complicated, and complete mobility would be absolutely essential.

One cannot even contemplate the solution of the problems confronting a librarian in the out-of-school educational setting without thinking of the use of data processing. Inventories would grow like toadstools, and present methods of processing and accounting would be hopelessly inadequate for the task at hand. The present thinking about security and preservation of holdings would have to be abandoned. One might very well evaluate the success of the librarian in this situation by the number of books and other materials he reported as stolen during the year.

In summation, then, we would anticipate the necessity of developing for the two-component school system an entirely new administrative pattern based upon an entirely new and different set of administrative goals.

Above all else, any attempt to move in some of the directions discussed in this paper would call for a level of competence on the part of the chief school administrator such as we have seldom seen. Such an operation as described herein would require a degree of creativity, wisdom, and clarity of purpose that would guarantee a continuous high level of encouragement, permissiveness, and financial support to all subordinate officers.

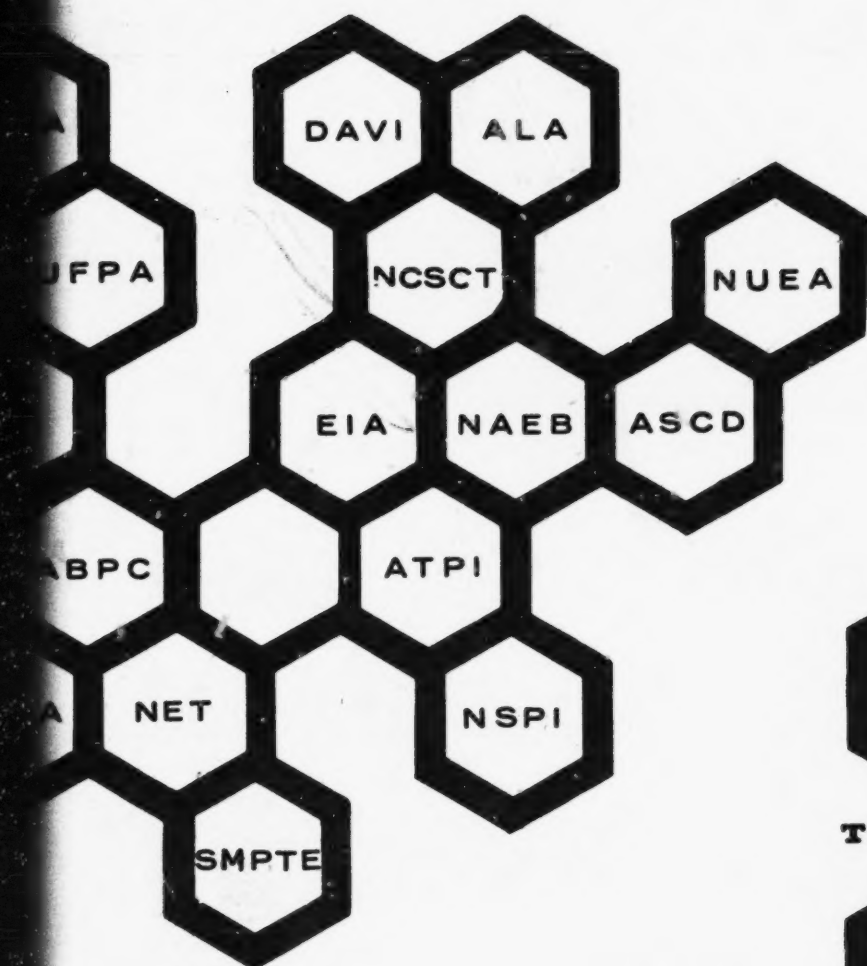
V

In attempting to relate the possible benefits of an increased and sharply focused use of educational technology for the education of the disadvantaged, the function of the teacher has been initially and purposely excluded. Actually, this approach to the education of the disadvantaged would have the effect of changing the role of the teacher in such a way as to make him quite indispensable. The procedures we have considered here would make it possible for the teacher to step out of the role of protagonist or adversary, and assume the character of a learning diagnostician, a source of psychological support, and a bridge between the world of the disadvantaged and the greater adult society. No matter how it may be initiated, learning for all youth must ultimately become an intensely human preoccupation. The teacher as the understanding adult who knows the learner through his learning behavior -- and also as a fellow human being -- is the crucial agent through which the metamorphosis of the disadvantaged youth must be accomplished. By engaging the adolescent as fully as possible with the curricular stimuli, we are in a position to move the teacher outside of the center of engagement, where he can study the learning process, react to the product of study, prescribe specific remediation needed, and support and encourage the learner in those intimate human ways that will always be crucial for the individual. The learner must come to understand that he need not "make it" with the teacher; he only needs to progress with the learning tasks presented. The teacher must come to be seen as his ally and support in his undertaking. The teacher will no longer have to "tell" or "judge," but simply guide and support the learner in his own efforts to make sense out of the work he has inherited.

VI

In conclusion, what we have advocated in this paper can best be summed up by reversing a time-honored label in professional education. Instead of the community-school, we propose the "school-community." Let us de-institutionalize the educational process for the disadvantaged. Let us employ in our new design every technological device that lends itself to our purpose; and, by so doing, let us concentrate our finest efforts on the goal of changing the neighborhood environment of the disadvantaged from one that is intellectually sterile to one that is exciting and vibrant with intellectual ferment.

APPENDIX C



The

Educational Media Council

FINAL REPORT

Project No. OE 5-160032
Contract No. OE 5-16-032

A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

May, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

MEDIA AND CHILDREN
OF
THOSE WHO ARE NOT LIKE US

Kaoru Yamamoto
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MEDIA AND CHILDREN
OF
THOSE WHO ARE NOT LIKE US

Kaoru Yamamoto
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Words are, at best, an incomplete carrier of our thoughts and emotion. Therefore, in spite of the facility with which we speak nowadays of children who are culturally-deprived, disadvantaged, or underprivileged, it is not always clear specifically whom we designate by such a phrase. And who are we, to begin with?

Identification of someone as culturally deprived certainly involves postulation of some standard style of cultural life and a value judgment. Loosely speaking, our life is assumed to be culturally replete and hence to fit to be the criterion in judging those who are not like us. There is naturally nothing absolute about such a comparison, but we seldom adopt the life style of someone more culturally refined than we are as the standard and count ourselves among the culturally-deprived!

One of the dangers of this self-centered maneuver appears to be the familiar "gung-ho syndrome," or the well-intentioned but naive proselytization of our own values and practices.¹ Mission has long been aware of the adverse effects, while education and social work have had their respective share of this type of zealous evangelism. It would not be an overstatement to say that the newest versions of this phenomenon are observable in such celebrated campaigns as the Peace Corps and the War on Poverty.

Another difficulty with the oft-used phrase, cultural deprivation, is its implication of absence of culture along a single continuum. Nothing is farther from the reality: "We have to understand the fact that culturally different does not mean devoid of culture, and that children of Negro, Mexican, uneducated, bookless, and houseless families do not come to us with nothing. Let me repeat - they come with selves and with a sense of belonging to whatever group is theirs."²

In other words, what is in question is not deprivation or deficit in a monolithic culture, but rather subcultures with their particular values, objectives, norms, and behaviors which disagree with the modal patterns of the general culture.³

Finally, the generalized use of the summarizing term, the culturally deprived, tends to cover the large inter- and intra-group differences among those so designated.⁴ No matter how one identifies such people, he risks the imminent overgeneralization and oversimplification. They may be equally impoverished and underprivileged, but the Puerto Rican Americans

present different problems than those of the Negro Americans or the white slum dwellers. Tasks facing Southern hillbillies or reservation Indians are quite dissimilar to those of the white farm laborers or of migrant workers of the Mexican descent. Obviously no single description does justice to the varied groups and their subcultures, and no simple solution is available to meet the divergent issues involved.

Parameters of Difference

Whom, then, should we keep in mind when we discuss those unlike us? Havighurst believes that these groups are at the bottom in American income hierarchy, have a rural background, suffer from social and economic discrimination, and are distributed widely throughout the United States. In ethnic terms, he estimates that these groups are about evenly divided between whites and nonwhites and enumerates the following groups as the major ones: Negro and white migrants to the Northern industrial cities; Mexican migrants of a rural background to the West and Middle West; and European immigrants of a rural background from Eastern and Southern Europe.⁵

In such a list as this, it is immediately clear that the parameters which characterize the variant populations include, among others, (1) ethclass, (2) economic, and (3) ecological factors. Let us take a brief look at each of these now.

Ethclass Factors

The concept of "ethclass" was proposed by Gordon to "refer to the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class."⁶ The importance of social class status in defining our behavior is increasingly recognized, at least within the dominant Anglo-American population. In spite of an earlier observation by Warner of the interaction between caste and class systems in the American society,⁷ the fact of social classes within and across various ethnic groups, nevertheless, tends to be underemphasized.

Thus, no matter which class positions they happen to occupy, a Chinese is a Chinese and a Negro is a Negro to many people. In reality, however, a Chinese just does not associate with any and all Chinese Americans merely because they are Chinese. Chances are that, in his behavioral patterns, he would be much closer to those in the same social class, regardless of their ethnicity, than to Chinese in different classes.

In other words, a person feels a sense of peoplehood, or of historical identification, with his ethnic group, while his social class is the locus of a sense of behavioral identification. Still, in terms of his primary-group relationships, he feels really congenial and relaxed only with those in his particular ethclass. The ethclass, then, gives him a sense of participational

identification. This is the only group of people which accords a person both the sense of interdependence of fate and that of behavioral similarities.⁸ Further, due to the multiple melting-pot condition or the structural pluralism of the American society, it is obvious that the same external characteristics do not necessarily specify the same social class positions across ethnic varieties. For this reason, the ethclass may be a better parameter to designate variant subcultures.

The heuristic value of this concept was demonstrated unawares by Lesser, Fifer, and Clark in their exploration of mental abilities of Jewish, Negro, Puerto Rican, and Chinese children in the city of New York, representing the lower and middle social classes.⁹ The authors reported that the interaction of social-class and ethnic-group membership, namely, the ethclass, was significantly associated with the level of each of four mental abilities (verbal, reasoning, numerical, and spatial), while the pattern of these abilities was more or less specific to each ethnic group, the social class not altering the basic organization. Seemingly, then, "low ability" means one thing to an ethclass, e. g., middle-class, protestant, Swedish Americans, while it means something different to another ethclass, e. g., lower-class, Catholic, Italian Americans.

The alleged variations in child-rearing practices have been well documented by several authors.¹⁰ In general, these data suggest, the middle-class parents have been becoming more permissive and tolerant, while working-class (upper-lower class) parents are following the same trend, thus closing the gap observed earlier between these two adjacent social classes. Here again, however, this generalized picture may be more misleading than revealing. For one thing, it is a fact that not much is known about the attitudes and practices of the bottom group, namely, the lower-lower class. Even among those living in the slum, moreover, one can detect some rather distinct types, for example, Galbraith's "case poverty" and "insular poverty."¹¹ The former represents those lazy, drunk, or mentally deficient ones who are demoralized, other-blaming, and unconcerned about their children's future. Those who are victims of insular poverty, on the other hand, are cognizant of their fate and engaged in a hard-fought, though admittedly futile, war for themselves and their offspring. This is the group about which Vontress said that "the people most dissatisfied with slum conditions are the people who live in them."¹²

Take, further, the case of Mexican Americans. These people, the third largest minority group in the United States, are known for their homogeneity in terms both of their religion and language and of their internal social differentiation (occupation, income, and schooling).¹³ Contrast this with the second largest minority group, American Indians. It is generally observed that Indians are, in most regions, without a highly developed social status system, while being quite heterogeneous with regard to their cultural patterns.¹⁴ If, in addition, we recall the complex nature of ethnic assimilation, with several discernible variables (physical features,

population, distribution, language, religion, degree of subjugation, strength of subsystems, rate of assimilation, etc.),¹⁵ it becomes obvious that a simple-minded pronouncement, "Let us save the underprivileged!," is far from helpful in clarifying the issue and, indeed, not particularly meaningful.

Economic Factors

It is nowadays fashionable to speak of poverty as a magic word which explains most everything: crime, delinquency, mental illness, learning difficulties, divorce, population increase, or what have you. And, it even appears, some of the nonpoor people (in education and politics) are getting less poorer by concentrating upon the poor!

Cynicism aside, the economic factors seem to be closely associated with the ethclass factors. Thus, "if a person is poor, there is a fair chance - 1 chance in 5 - that he is Negro, or Puerto Rican, or Mexican, or Indian."¹⁶

But, how do we define the poor? Economists and sociologists tell us that the average gross family income in 1962 was \$7,140, while the median family income (1961 figure) was roughly \$5,000. In 1961, five per cent each of American families were annually earning less than \$1,000 or more than \$15,000. The latter families may be called affluent, although few of them are truly wealthy. On the other hand, any typical family (a couple and three children) whose annual gross income is less than \$4,000 would find it difficult to get by and may hence be classified as poor. Between the affluent and the poor, "we can designate families as deprived if their yearly income is more than \$4,000 but less than \$6,000, and as comfortable if their income ranges between \$6,000 and \$15,000."¹⁷

Using these definitions, it is observed that about 31 per cent of the nation's families, or over 14 million families and 36 million people, are to be classified as poor. In addition, about 22 per cent or 10 million families fall in the category of the deprived. Thus, the poor and the deprived together constitute 53 per cent of the American families, while the remaining 47 per cent are in the comfortable or affluent range.

Now, it can certainly be argued that all this is a matter of definition. The fact is, however, that the effect of using different definitions on the overall estimate of the size of the poverty problem is "very little."¹⁸ It may further be contended that even the poorest of American families are still far better off than millions living in other lands.

Unfortunately, however, "poverty ... has a special significance in a wealthy society" which values financial success highly and measures a person's worth on this criterion.

"When one must watch his children go to bed hungry or go to school with ill-fitting, worn clothing, it is little comfort to be told that they are better fed and clothed than many children

in the world. When one's early teenage son or daughter drops out of school to look for a job, it is really no answer to be told that already he has had more education than millions of adults in other countries. It is no answer, because our poor are not living in these 'other countries.' It is this society, and not some underdeveloped country on the other side of the globe, that our poor know best and whose standards of living they use as a point of comparison with their own. ¹⁹

The awareness of this contrast is keener because of the societal shift from the Protestant ethic or the morality of want (hard labor, thrift, saving, and delay of gratification) to the morality of affluence (the buy-now-pay-later philosophy, and a belief in consumption and waste). Such a trend affects the attitudes of the poor and, at the same time, the fact of economic unproductivity of these people tends to make the rest of the society discuss the matter in utilitarian or pay-off terms, thus contradicting the plausible dream of American individualism and egalitarianism. ²⁰

Ecological Factors

In defining the culturally variant groups, it also appears important to specify where they came from, where they are, and where they are going. For example, Havighurst's list mentioned earlier indicated that (im)migrants of rural background to industrialized areas represent a sizable portion of the disadvantaged population. Had they stayed around on the farm, would they have been better off? The answer, unfortunately, seems negative and these people are in that enviable "damned if they will and damned if they won't" situation.

First, it is well known that there has been a consistently decreasing trend in the U. S. farm population. At the turn of the century, one in three workers in the nation was employed on a farm, but the figure today is less than one in ten. With this shift in the form of industry came the abandonment of tenant farming, consolidation of land into larger operating units, and mechanization of agriculture. These resulted in, among other things, a sharp reduction in the number of available farm occupations, especially in the semi-skilled and un-skilled categories. ²¹

This transition from rural areas and jobs to urban residence and employment naturally affected many ethnic groups, notably, Negroes. In 1900, 77.3 per cent of the Negro population were classified rural, while the proportion in 1960 was 26.6 per cent. The movement from the South, estimated at four million people or more over the period, raised the colored population of the North to nearly 30 per cent and of the West to nearly four per cent of the total Negro population.

Many of these emigrants left their native states under the pressure of high fertility rate, surplus farm labor, and limited industrial opportunities in the South, but also in the search of a promised land with lesser

discrimination and better living conditions. Unfortunately, however, what awaited most of them in the North was marginal living with family disorganization, congested and segregated economic insecurity, malnutrition, and ill-health.²²

Second, although they tend to be left forgotten in the shadow of the more dramatic plight of their big city brothers, the nation's farmers are poor. It is said that about one-third of the counties in the United States suffer from low-income farm problems. In 1960, the median gross income of all experienced civilian labor force was reported at \$4,621 (male) and \$2,257 (female). On the other hand, the figures for farmers and farm managers were \$2,169 and \$836 for, respectively, male and female, while those for farm laborers and foremen were only \$1,066 and \$602.²³

Naturally, great variations are observed among rural areas themselves. For example, in 1956, the index of rural level of living was 145 for the entire nation, 169 in the Northeast, 167 in the West, 165 in the North-Central States, while it was merely 119 in the South. Large differences were observed between the families in the South and those in the rest of the farming areas in their possession of such facilities as running water, flush toilet, and telephone.²⁴ In any case, the impoverished conditions of rural America should not be ignored in our discussion of the disadvantaged. The mountain folk of Appalachia is just a symbol of the rural population in need.

In addition to those who moved, more or less permanently, from farms to cities, we have a large number of migratory workers as a distinctly variant group. Among the three categories of hired farm workers, namely, the regular workers (employed for more than 150 days a year by a single employer), seasonal workers (employed less than 150 days and by more than one employer), and migratory workers, the most precarious is the status of the last or itinerant farmhands. Between 1950 and 1960, the total number of these workers remained under 500,000.²⁵

In general, there are six streams of migratory farm laborers identified:

1. About 60,000 workers on the Atlantic coast, most of whom are Negro, supplemented by workers from Puerto Rico and Mexican-Americans.
2. Approximately 60,000 workers, nearly all Mexican-Americans, in the sugar-beet stream which starts in Texas and goes north into the North Central and Mountain States.
3. About 30,000 men of Mexican descent who come up from Texas to Montana and North Dakota, mainly as combine teams, to harvest wheat and small-grain.

4. About 80, 000 workers of Mexican descent plus Negroes harvest cotton, starting from Texas - one group goes to the Mississippi Delta and a larger one goes into New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California.
5. Approximately 30, 000 people of early American stock who move north and west from Oklahoma, Arkansas, and western Tennessee to pick fruit and tomatoes.
6. About 120, 000 workers of all backgrounds who work up and down the Pacific coast. "26

There was, in addition, a group of imported foreign workers numbering up to about 70, 000, but the largest source of these was closed in 1964 by the Congressional action to discontinue the Mexican Contract Labor (Bracero) Program of 1951.

In a sense, the life of these itinerant farm hands typifies the failure end of the continuum in a society oriented to success in the form of visible things and achievement. Making an average of only \$902 in 1961, most of the migratory workers travel with their families, living in primitive quarters with few modern facilities. The Grapes of Wrath is not an old, forgotten story. Transient and isolated, these people are not protected by any minimum wage standards or by health, medical and social care. Formal education is yet to reach the majority of their children.²⁷ No stable job, no money, no house, no property, no status, no nothing - here is a people which has not moved from the rags to riches, who has not climbed the ladder to the stars, and who has betrayed the American dream. But who, indeed, is to blame?

Finally, let us remember the fact that the transient nature of the underprivileged is not restricted to the migrant farm workers. "One of the problems of inner city poor children is the residential mobility of their families that continually disrupts their school life. ... Children of the inner city have often moved many times during their school lives and more frequently than middle-class children. ... Much of the residential mobility is a reaction to frustration and is without design or purpose except for a vague hope of a new chance."²⁸ Only that the search never ends and the periodic moves continue forever.

What It Means To Be One Of Them

Parameters are not determinants and they are obviously not mutually independent in the American society. Being a member of a minority group, belonging to the lower-lower social stratum, occupying the lowest economic position, or joining the occupationally and residentially migrant population - these telling signs, either singly or in combination, do not necessarily justify our concluding that the person is doomed from our viewpoint. There

are enough exceptions to caution us against a blanket diagnosis. In the same vein, however, none of these conditions bespeaks favorable environmental settings for a person in this nation.

Assuming, for the moment, that you are one of them, what is it like? The answer may be approximated from the notable description of those on the bottom by Hollingshead.²⁹ You may be of American stock, early or late, or of foreign descent, e. g., Polish, German, or Norwegian. Perhaps it does not make much difference to outsiders who you are but, within the "scum of the city" itself, this more or less pinpoints the particular subarea you live in.

A dilapidated, box-like home; a wood-coal stove or a kerosene burner for both heating and cooking; a sagging sofa and/or an iron bed for living and sleeping; an old mirror and several magazine cutouts on the wall; a row of nails to serve as a wardrobe; an abused table and a few poorly-fixed chairs; a radio and a bare lightbulb or two; assorted dishes and pans; no books and no phone (less than one per cent have it); no independent bath-toilet facilities (about one in seven homes has these); city water (three out of four within the city limits), wells, springs, or creeks.

Privacy in the home is almost nonexistent; the house is rented in four cases out of five; one in two families owns a car which is more than 7 years old; the father is the chief breadwinner in three out of five homes but his employment is unskilled and irregular; the income is meager (the range in Elmtown was \$500 to \$1,500, with a mode of \$850) and personal loans from brokers (in the order of \$50) are difficult to obtain.³⁰ The marital relationship is unstable; 20 to 25 per cent of all births are estimated to be illegitimate; close to 80 per cent of the mothers gave birth to their first child before the age of 20; little pre- and post-natal care of either mother or child; the number of children is large (the mean in Elmtown was 5.6 per mother, the range being 1 to 13); the mother-child relation is the strongest and most enduring family tie.

Nearly 60 per cent of the families have been broken up by death, desertion, separation, or divorce; formal education is largely limited to the elementary school; religious ties are quite tenuous and often hostile ("The 'Everyone Welcome' signs in front of the churches should add 'except people like us'"); leisure time, extensive because of unemployment and illness, is spent in loafing around the neighborhood, informal visits, gossiping, petty gambling, cheap theaters, drinking, sex plays, and fights; no organized community activities or social functions; residents are well acquainted with the police, sheriff, prosecuting attorney and judge, but only slightly known to the ministers and school officials. People are passive, fatalistic, resigned to the life of frustration and defeat in a community which despises them for their disregard of morals, lack of "success" goals, and dire poverty. They are nonpeople.

Hope, Time and Identity

One thing which characterizes this kind of life is the hopeless quality of human existence, despair, resignation, and bitterness.³¹ When a person is struggling for survival and living "in a world of anxiety about the immediate provisions for his basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter, he learns to seek immediate gratification in whatever he does. Lower-class behavior, which may be regarded as delinquent or shiftless and unmotivated by other groups, is usually realistic and responsive to the cultural situation."³² He thus develops a strong present-time orientation.

What else does lacking the "essential strength of hope" imply? Henry believes that "those who cannot hope for achievement or security can have no concept of the organization of behavior through time toward goals. His behavior, having neither background nor direction, is disorganized. What is left of him is the irreducible ash - the survival self - the flight from death."³³ Not only does he lose the sight of time but also his perception of self, since, as pointed out by Heidegger, self - identity is dependent upon the continuity and movement through time: namely, what I was yesterday, what I am today, and what I will be tomorrow. Truncation of any part of this temporal organization is bound to affect the sense of I-ness. When a child says, "I'm nobody, who are you? Are you nobody too?", in the words of Emily Dickinson,³⁴ he seems to be revealing some fundamental insight over and beyond mere reflection of societal appraisal of him. He does not think of the uncertain future and he stifles all memories of the past, thus fixating in the present. He does not have a clear sense of goals and purposes, nor that of human history and heritage. He is indeed nobody.

Time perspective provides an alternative to impulsive action by freeing a person from the domination of the immediate situation and, further, allows a more accurate assessment of people and events. This, then, is the quality often found to differentiate between middle-class and lower-class members, between normal and schizophrenic adults, between delinquent and nondelinquent adolescents, and between father-present and father-absent children.³⁵

Chances are that the unfortunate children never develop an adequate sense of futurity, both in its personal aspects (personal projection for the future; living in the future; feeling about and investing in the future) and in its cognitive aspects (working with the future as an abstract cognitive category; utilizing time to organize and interpret experiences).³⁶ This, in turn, would result in an incomplete differentiation between what is expected (level of reality in the future) and what is dreamed of or wished for (level of irreality in the future).³⁷ It is recalled in this connection that Hollingshead found among his Elmtown children of the unskilled workers a very large amount of uncertainty in vocational aims.³⁸ Also pertinent is the following observation by Janowitz:

"Children who cannot achieve adequately often compensate by exaggerating the extent of their abilities. There is often real confusion about what they can do. Studies have been done showing that nonachieving children of sixteen to seventeen still express ambitions of wanting to be doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Such findings have been used to argue that they have the same aspirations that so-called middle-class children have. Actually, it proves nothing of the kind. It only proves that these children are guilty of very wishful thinking."³⁹

Two additional things must be mentioned before we leave the topic of time perspective. First, it is a fact that some of the characteristics of the disadvantaged in the United States resemble those in different cultures. For example, the present time orientation, subjugation-to-nature (fatalism and resignation) rather than mastery-over-nature philosophy, and existing (low mobility aspiration and achievement need) rather than doing personality type, all remind us of the cultural patterns of Latin-American people who, by chance or by scheme, find themselves largely among the poor in this country.⁴⁰ Whether the impoverished and segregated living conditions first molded such values or the process worked in reverse at the outset is an academic question for our immediate purposes. The important points are that values are sharply in conflict and that they tend to perpetuate themselves.⁴¹

Second, there are some indications that the loss of the sense of the past and future, and of the goals and purposes are becoming an experience not exclusively of those unlike ourselves. For one thing, in spite of our vigorous pursuit of happiness in the form of tangible fruits of modern science and technology and in spite of our affluence, we have been beset by the uneasy feelings of alienation, anxiety, and absence of meaning in life. This forces us back into the vicious cycle of activity again and invites an observer to remark that "a serious discussion of the future is just what is missing in the United States," due to our fear of something worse than total destruction, namely, "total meaninglessness."⁴²

For another, the accelerating pace of social changes and the resultant generational discontinuities make the past to grow "progressively more different from the present in fact" and "more remote and irrelevant psychologically. the future, too, grows more remote and uncertain. the present assumes a new significance as the one time in which the environment is relevant, immediate, and knowable."⁴³ What long-range implications this phenomenon possesses for the American society as a whole and for its subgroups is unknown at the moment.

Transmission of Culture

It has been noted that many of the unfortunate children "(a) question their own self-worth; (b) feel inferior, particularly in the school situation; (c) fear new situations rather than feeling that they are a challenge to their

growth; (d) desire to cling tenaciously to the familiar; (e) have many feelings of guilt and shame; (f) have limited trust in adults; and (g) respond with triggerlike reactions to apparently minor frustrations. ⁴⁴ As we intimated above, all these and other patterns of thought and behavior are solutions to their problems and not problems themselves in the first instance. These are functional, coping responses and will persist so long as the overall conditions of life require them of the people. ⁴⁵

It is, therefore, small wonder for us to find, for example, that 80 per cent of the parents in the relief families have grown up in families of the same type. ⁴⁶ The culture has to perpetuate and transmit itself to help prevent the participants from perishing. Still, we have to agree with Wortis and his colleagues in their poignant observation:

"Other elements in the environment were preparing the child to take over a lower class role. The inadequate incomes, crowded homes, lack of consistent familial ties, the mother's depression and helplessness in her own situation, were as important as her child-rearing practices in influencing the child's development and preparing him for an adult role. It was for us a sobering experience to watch a large group of newborn infants, plastic human beings of unknown potential, and observe over a 5-year period their social preparation to enter the class of the least skilled, least-educated, and most-rejected in our society. ⁴⁷

Children must learn to live with frustration and loneliness, to hit the balance between affiliation need and fear of involvement, and to "be good" in the sense of physical inactivity, verbal nonparticipation, and cognitive nonobservance in the overcrowded living space. ⁴⁸ They must be exposed early to the reality of life such as hunger, heat and cold, noise, hostility, violence, addiction, sexual intimacy, sickness, and death. They are to obey their parents and look after their younger siblings, imitate the parental patterns of aggression so as to be able to fight off any outside offenders, acquire familiarity with law in its negative connotation, and develop strong peer-group identification. ⁴⁹

Certain generalized morals of solidarity must be inculcated: "Within this culture of poverty it is perfectly all right to take things from the out-group as long as you never take from the in-group. If you take from the in-group, then you're really a low-down bastard; if you take from the out-group and get away with it, you're smart. ⁵⁰ Say nothing to the cops and social workers, they are the worst enemies. Be loyal and reciprocate help when the occasion arises.

At its best, then, such cultural orientation builds self-sufficient, courageous, pragmatic, patient, and compassionate human beings - Tolstoy knew them and so did Dostoyevsky and Dickens. Unfortunately, however,

the odds are increasingly against their emerging as the ultimate victors in the American urban society and mass culture.

Experience and Preparation

The life of the underprivileged is not geared to its symbolic aspects. Not much writing, reading, or counting is practiced, speaking or listening is not their art, and formal and informal rituals are infrequent. No wonder, then, a psychiatrist reports that interviewing with lower-class parents yield the impression that conversing with them would neither stimulate nor exercise the intellect. "They are more preoccupied with the 'What is it?' and 'How can I use it?' aspects of human existence than with the 'Why is it?' aspects. The brute necessities of economic survival compel them to be basically practical - not to wonder about the meaning and the interrelatedness of life."⁵¹ It is in this sense that Hess and Shipman declared the meaning of deprivation to be a deprivation of meaning.⁵²

Understandably, their children tend to be oriented to the concrete and physical. They approach problems, express feelings, and establish social relationships in motoric, rather than conceptual, mode.⁵³ Words stand for tangible objects and explicit action; they do not represent the general, the possible, and the hypothetical. Learning is physical and often slow, but the learner can be surprisingly articulate in role-playing situations.⁵⁴ They do not depend upon mediated responses, either schematic or thematic, and their reactions are stimulus- or immediacy-controlled.

Their language is(or, to be exact, is hypothesized to be) more informal and restricted than formal and elaborate. It is a language of implicit meaning. Its short, grammatically simple, syntactically poor sentences do not narrow the range of possible significance for the common, multireferential words and, hence, do not facilitate the communication of ideas and relationships requiring any precise formulation.⁵⁵

It is sometimes argued that poverty results in sparsity of observable and manipulable objects and scarcity of cultural experiences. Let us not, however, believe that this is a case of stimulus deprivation in which the amount of stimulation drops below a certain threshold. The difference is not so much in the quantity of input as in its range (variability), quality (content and tone), and organization (patterns and sequencing).

Paucity of artifacts in his early life and lack in diversity of experiential categories would allow a child only a limited exercise of his visual and tactile senses. On the other hand, due possibly to the high noise level of his environment, his auditory discrimination does not highly develop and the resultant inattentiveness also affects his memory function.⁵⁶

Likewise, his restricted environment, coupled with the relative absence of pertinent adult models and structured guidance, would hamper

development of his concept formation (collection of things and facts, comparison, and classification), decision making (reflection, weighing consequences, and selection among alternatives), and scientific attitude (planned, problem-solving orientation).⁵⁷

Language and thought are closely intermeshed. Where the former tends to be concrete and particularized, so would be the latter. Accordingly, it is surmised that one of the most important consequences of limited environment is slow and incomplete transition from concrete, nonverbal and particularized, mode of thought and comprehension to abstract, verbal, and more precise (differentiated) one. Manipulation of symbols, either numerical, linguistic, or schematic, and handling of abstract concepts and their relationships tend to be restricted.⁵⁸

In essence, the unfortunate children are not raised in a setting optimum for the development of competence. They may receive enough sensory stimulation quite early in their life but this is followed by a poverty of objects and a lack of consistency in perceptual experiences when these become crucial in the formation of linguistic-conceptual intelligence and competence motivation.⁵⁹

Is there any wonder, then, why these children become poor and unwilling pupils? Is there any reason why we should expect anything but "cumulative deficit," or exacerbation of their original difficulties, in school?⁶⁰ Should we be surprised to find a dropout rate in the lowest income schools more than 20 times that in the highest income schools?⁶¹ Is it not also suggestive that lower social-class standings were associated with higher prevalence rates of mental illness among children?⁶²

Reaching to Them, Educationally - But How?

In educational spheres, we often hear an admonition, doubtless well-meant, that, if culturally variant pupils do not react favorably, schools and, more specifically, teachers are failing them, rather than the other way around. With due respect to this reminder of our responsibility, let us not be too eager and too ambitious. No matter how strongly we would believe in formal education as an ultimate hope for America, we should remember that education cannot get everything done which all other institutions left undone in the society. Education may be a powerful medicine but it is evidently not a panacea.

"Generally, the schools are being asked to improve the economic and social position of deprived children through education, to break through the vicious circle of low education-low socioeconomic status that now exists. Specifically, the schools are being asked to compensate for the massive deprivations from which these children have suffered and to stimulate and motivate them to learn and achieve.

Such a program, it seems to us, can be of tremendous significance if careful distinctions are made between what the schools can and cannot do. "63

Most certainly, schools cannot reverse the tide single-handedly when no sustained help is forthcoming, politically, economically, legally, and socially, from the community. Teachers cannot be full-time parent substitutes and models and children should not be expected to live successfully in two contradictory worlds, home and school, one real and the other unreal.

Confrontation

A teacher carries his own heritage with himself, just as a pupil does his. When the two meet, it is not merely a matter of two individuals facing each other but also confrontation between two cultures. With their respective, and oft disparate, mores, customs, folkways, and taboo, the communication is never easy. The two participants in the interaction have a dual task of finding the other's identity and their own identity as perceived by the other. In other words, the teacher's questions are: "Who is this pupil? And, who does he think I am?" The pupil, in return, asks: "Who is this teacher? What is he like? And, how does he see me?"

Even when both parties are certain of their respective self identity, the context of awareness in which this interaction takes place can vary among a closed context (one side does not know either the other's identity or the other's view of his own identity), a suspicion context (one party suspects the other's true identity or the other's view of his own identity, or both), an open context (each side is aware of the other's identity and the other's view of his own), and a pretense context (both parties are fully aware but pretend not to be).⁶⁴

Chances are that an incoming pupil is unaware of his teacher's identity or of how the latter perceives him. The teacher is a stranger whom the child meets in an unfamiliar place under uncommon circumstances.⁶⁵ This closed awareness is not the most relaxing atmosphere of all. The pupil, uncomfortable and rather powerless, restructures the setting by trying to find something about the other party. He sulks, balks, hollers, yells, shows off, or challenges the adult. In so doing, he gets the teacher's attention, discovers the limits to which the latter lets him go, and diagnoses the strange fellow. He may not be able to monopolize the interaction to himself but he can gather additional information by watching the teacher's reaction to other pupils.

Pretty soon, he starts suspecting certain things about the stranger and the suspicion context prevails. Is he a regular guy? Is he tough? Does he mean business? Is he a snooper? Is he a prosecutor? A warden? Does he understand you? Does he like you? After a while, the awareness context

may become, for better or for worse, open. The teacher cannot help revealing himself over an extended period of time and there remains no question in the pupil's mind who the teacher is and what the latter thinks of him.⁶⁶

When two discrepant cultures meet, it takes rare individuals to bridge the two. Some of them may be able to integrate the new experiences into their new self, while others will become marginal men. Most, however, will take the safest way out by clinging to their old identity. This is the pattern followed by the majority of teachers and, not surprisingly, this is the path also taken by the majority of children. Both sides may be willing to (or have to, under the law or due to employment conditions) play along a little longer as if they were still feeling each other out and allowing some benefit of doubt. In fact, however, both may simply be operating in a pretense context, waiting the first break to come for getting away clean.

The picture is, nevertheless, not entirely bleak. For one thing, their "shocking" expressions and behaviors notwithstanding, the children are usually more serious, honest, and sensitive than adults. They are quick to divine the genuine and the fake. They are keen about the difference between love and respect given freely and willingly and bait serving, intentionally or unintentionally, to make a sucker out of them. And, thank heaven, children are willing to understand consistent and reasonable adults.⁶⁷ Teachers' attitudes would appear to influence children's more than the children's do to the teachers' and, further, teacher attitudes seem to count more heavily in lower-class schools than in middle-class schools.⁶⁸ Granted the difficulty in selection, preparation, and placement of sincere, perceptive, and mature teachers for the disadvantaged pupils, the possibility is there and the omen is not all bad.⁶⁹

Communication: Oral

Many of us are poor at comprehending and conversing in a foreign language. Thus, there is a good reason to suspect that the "social-class determination of linguistic styles and habits" serves "as an effective deterrent to communication and understanding between child and teacher."⁷⁰

Peisach's study on this point, however, seems to suggest rather complex relationships among relevant variables. For example, working with first - and fifth-grade children, both Negro and white, of lower- and middle-class background, she reported that neither the social class difference nor the ethnic difference mattered much in the pupils' understanding of teacher speech at the first-grade level. Sex differences (favoring girls), social-class differences (favoring the middle-class), and ethnic differences (favoring the white) all became salient at the fifth-grade level but the sex difference was the only one which stood adjustment for IQ differences.

When, in addition, children's comprehension of peer speech was studied among the fifth graders, it was found that the social-class differences (favoring the middle-class) were obtained but no ethnic differences were detected. Quite interestingly, the lower-class pupils understood (in the sense that they got the meaning of the communication in spite of certain intentional omissions) the speech samples as well as did the middle-class pupils when the samples represented either lower-class speech or Negro speech. With speech samples from either middle-class or white children, on the other hand, the lower-class pupils performed significantly poorer. While the overall ethnic differences were not significant, the Negro pupils tended to do as well as the white if the speech samples were from either boys or Negro children. In looking at these results, let us recall the variable of ethclass discussed earlier in this paper. Finally, among the fifth graders, Peisach reported that the auditory form of sample presentation was much more difficult than the visual (written) mode for both teachers' and children's speech. However, contrary to other evidence (see footnote 56), she obtained no significant interaction effects between the mode of presentation and any other variables, namely, social class, ethnicity, or sex.⁷¹

This study certainly bears replication and extension. One of its precious qualities rests in the fact that here children's understanding was studied in simulated teacher-pupil and peer interactions. Other studies, few if any, with the culturally variant tended to investigate the structure, either logical or functional, of children's or teachers' verbal behavior in isolation, or the whole pattern of verbal communication. For example, Loban's longitudinal study of kindergarten children depended upon their electrically-recorded oral language in the course of an interview.⁷² A standard set of questions and a picture-story task constituted the main means of elicitation of verbal reaction. The transcribed speech was then scrutinized for its structure. No dialogue, either real or simulated, is involved and, in this sense, the analysis is made "in isolation." The counterpart of this approach, concentrating on teacher talk, has been pursued by, among others, Smith.⁷³

In contrast, there are schemes of analysis which purport to describe the total configuration of teacher-pupil interaction. Some, like Flanders, explore the affective and content-free characteristics of the verbal behavior,⁷⁴ while others try to grasp the strategic intention and moves in teaching.⁷⁵ In either case, the analysis transcends the flesh-and-blood level of human communication. It is, by analogy, one thing to investigate the traffic patterns in a large metropolis to improve daily transportation and safety, while it is another to learn how individual drivers feel, think, and react with regard to the problems of automobile, driving, and traffic. Now, make no mistake about this: accumulation of systematic knowledge concerning the culturally variant is close to nil and we certainly need strategic research. This, however, does not obviate tactical studies or reconnaissance.

Communication: Written and Graphic

Earlier we said that the concept of time is not particularly meaningful among the underprivileged people and its use is not highly developed among them. This may be one of the reasons why their children have a difficult time handling verbal materials, either spoken or written. Verbal communication is a temporally-ordered method of abstraction, description, and interpretation, which is at best an incomplete translation of a person's perception of world, both internal and external.⁷⁶ The latter is an experience in whole and it is spatially, rather than temporally (linearly), organized.

This does not, of course, mean any superiority of a non-temporally oriented person in his spatial perception and cognitive mapping. It may simply mean that transition from spatial to temporal structuring of his experience may not be successful until his exploration of the spatial mode is sufficiently advanced to prepare him for abstraction and symbolization necessary for the temporal mode.

Such a viewpoint seems not entirely misleading if we recall the stages of development of spatial concept postulated by Stone and Church:

"We can recognize five major stages in the development of spatial concepts, although any one person (at any age) may operate on several different levels. First, there is action space, consisting of the locations to which the child anchors his movements, and the regions in which he moves. Second, there is body space, based on the child's awareness of directions and distance in relation to his own body. Third, there is object space, where objects can be located relative to each other in terms of directions and distances transferred from body space, but now without direct reference to the child's body. The fourth stage we shall call map space, the elaboration and unification of concrete spatial experiences into more or less extensive 'mental maps' dependent on some system of co-ordinates or cardinal directions which may apply to rooms or regions, to towns or nations. Although map space may be concrete in the sense that it relies on visual images, it is abstract both in the sense that it involves principles of organization independent of particular objects and in the sense that a great deal of conceptual understanding is brought to bear in formulating mental maps. A final stage, abstract space, ... comes with the ability to deal with abstract spatial concepts necessary to mapping or navigational problems, geographical or astronomical ideas, or problems of solid geometry, even including, at the most abstract level, multi-dimensional space beyond our experienced three dimensions."⁷⁷

Chances are that the disadvantaged children experience difficulties with the later stages of this ladder which complement the development of

verbal communication. This is obviously another area where close observation is sorely needed to help clarify the picture. In any case, it is unlikely that a person can skip building the basic structure before aiming at the sky and reparation is always painful and time-consuming.

Assuming that we have finally gotten the children interested in tackling the printed materials, what about books for reading? What do children seek? Here are some tips given by themselves: (1) Books about animals, aviation, careers, hobbies, sports, the sea, and westerns. In other words, those with lots of adventure, plenty of excitement, and many interesting facts of science and nature. (2) Books with many good pictures, good drawings, and big print. (3) Books which push the readers to go on to the next page and the next page and the next. No kidstuff, please.⁷⁸

How solid are these recommendations of children from a technical point of view? Preference is one thing and effectiveness in teaching is often another. That interest and meaningfulness play an important role in sustaining a learner's efforts not many people contest. But how about the matter of graphic communication and verbal-nonverbal textbook design? Do illustrations really help? What kind of illustrations are to be preferred?

Evidence available on this point is scanty, to say the least, and studies pertinent to the culturally variant children are still harder to locate. Rather surprisingly, the answer to our first question, "Do illustrations help?", seems to be at best ambiguous among the literature, so long as the effects are measured on verbal tests. While several studies comparing illustrated texts with texts alone tended to produce negative results,⁷⁹ coupling of pictorial with oral presentations would appear to yield positive increments in learning over oral presentation alone.⁸⁰

On the other hand, the answer to the second question, "What kind of illustrations are to be preferred?", seems a little clearer. It has been shown that considerable intelligence and training are necessary for the readers to understand diagrams, charts, and graphs and that different types of material require different types of diagrams.⁸¹

Working with newly literate adults and rural youth in Latin American countries, some authors pointed out that interpretation of illustrations tended to be extremely literal and structured by past experience of the subjects. For this type of reader, therefore, pictorial illustrations should be as realistic as possible and color should not be used unless it is realistic. Nevertheless, the amount of detail and action in a picture should be limited to the important points to be illustrated and should not contain too much extraneous details.⁸²

Even though simulation of reality and spatial organization of temporal (verbal) material are two of the obvious functions of book illustration, the most complete reproduction of the reality by photographs and life-like

paintings and drawings may not be the best means to achieve the goal. Identification and accentuation of critical points (graphic segregation), as well as promotion of generalization and transfer (graphic integration), may be better accomplished by line and impressionistic drawings. These types of illustrations may also serve to arouse curiosity and imagination among the readers.⁸³

What about the social reality of the reading material? A call for new types of books is by now a familiar one, urging us to adapt them to lower-class urban industrial (or rural) settings rather than to the traditional, middle-class, suburban environment and adjust them to the realities of economic, ethnic, occupational, and familial facts of the disadvantaged children's life.⁸⁴ No one is likely to quarrel with this argument. Nevertheless, we must be careful in not going overboard in the emphasis on realism. Janowitz explains this as follows:

"The advantage of standard reading materials, however, is that everyone can share the common dreams and wishes they represent. The value of reading about families that are intact and people who have exciting adventures is that children identify with the story and vicariously share these experiences. In the development of new materials, realism about city life should not lose all the values of vicarious enjoyment. There is now great interest in developing special materials for deprived children. No material can be good for deprived children unless it is good for all children. We cannot afford to further alienate these youngsters by denying them the right to share the same dreams and hopes of other children. A culturally ghettoized curriculum would destroy the opportunity to bring them into the mainstream of American life. If they need more active experiences in learning, as many authorities feel they do, this is no different from the needs of all other children who spend too much time in passive learning, being quietly bored."⁸⁵

In other words, if it is carried to an extreme, "being restricted to current reality could in itself be very unreal."⁸⁶

Communication: Multi-Sensory

Within certain limits, it appears that simultaneous use of more than one sensory mode in material presentation helps the learner.⁸⁷ Since individual variations in the development of sense modalities (visual, aural, tactile, olfactory, and kinesthetic) are to be expected and since no one channel of communication can convey all pertinent information to a receiver, simultaneous input through several channels would ensure, at least theoretically, more comprehensive learning. The precise characteristics of the human information-processing mechanism and its interaction with materials presented are, however, not thoroughly investigated.⁸⁸

With run-of-the-mill students, especially those in the upper-elementary and junior-high grades, some suggestive evidence is available to show that educational television may be useful in facilitating school learning.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, no parallel studies with the underprivileged children have yet come to the reviewer's attention.

As for the use of commercial television programs, several investigations indicated that television-viewing have different implications for the middle-class and working-class (upper-lower) members. Watching television is regarded by the former as a symbol of passive entertainment, of withdrawal from productive social activity, and of escape from constructive responsibility. As such, television conflicts with the traditional middle-class values of sociability, goal-seeking activity and reality-orientation. In contrast, the same activity serves for working-class people the functions of immediate gratification, escape from reality (fantasy seeking and vicarious experience), and release of frustration (catharsis and displaced aggression). These correspond well with the basic value pattern of working class and television-viewing does not pose any developmental discontinuity for their children, which, however, is the case with middle-class children.

It has been found that television, when it comes into a child's life, tends simply to replace other sources of fantasy experiences such as movies, radio, comic books, and escape magazines, while not affecting appreciably the sources of reality experiences, for example, newspaper, books, and general magazines. It was also shown that, although growth is accompanied with less fantasy-seeking activities and more reality-seeking in both groups, a larger proportion of higher socio-economic children shifted to the latter kind of activities than that of lower socio-economic children at early teens. In so doing, both groups meet parental sanction, the middle class children for not watching television much and the working-class children for persisting in their behavior.⁹⁰ Again, few studies of the culturally variant individuals have been known to the reviewer.

Likewise, the application of programmed materials and auto-instructional devices to the population under discussion would seem to be largely absent from the literature. Although it has been argued that these allow sequential presentation of the basics, insure subject-matter readiness, promote the feeling of mastery over an unfamiliar environment, and help individualize teaching,⁹¹ actual evidence is not available. Furthermore, in view of the rather ambiguous status of the contribution of auto-instructional technique,⁹² no generalization appears defensible as for its usefulness in education of the disadvantaged.

In passing, two things must be mentioned. First, in spite of its obvious implications for our work with the unfortunate children, no serious, systematic efforts have been known to cultivate basic sense modalities by,

for example, the Montessori method.⁹³ Likewise, explorations of behavioral communication (postural and other nonverbal forms as well as empathetic and intuitive channels) have been largely neglected.

Second, any simple-minded application of the pre-post test design with or without a control group to investigate the effects of any media leaves much to be desired.⁹⁴ This is especially true if the only criterion measures are of the verbal performance type (intelligence, achievement, language, etc.). Difficulties are numerous and well known but seldom heeded. These tests assess merely a fraction, and often a marginal one at that, of the target behavior - a lesson we should have learned from the hard struggle over the culture-fair tests.⁹⁵ Even when the desired changes are measurable on these, the sleeper effects or the element of delayed action are frequently overlooked - one cannot observe an automobile's velocity until he first starts the car and puts it into gear. No progress may be observed for a few minutes but this does not necessarily mean that nothing is happening in the car. Finally, the process of learning is frequently far more significant than the product, especially when individual differences are great. Model T may cover only 30 miles while T-Bird goes 90 in the same amount of time and for the same amount of gas. Each has to be judged against itself and any collective measures may be quite unsatisfactory to describe the actual efforts and results.

Epilogue

I think I have taxed the readers' patience long enough. In discussing these children, I cannot help recalling one case of relatively pure cultural deprivation recorded in history. As you recall, in the fall of 1799, the year seven in the new calendar of French Revolution, a child of 11 or 12 was caught in the Caune Woods. Completely naked, dirty, and alone, roaming in the mountains, the "Wild Boy of Aveyron" was described as indifferent to everything and attentive to nothing in the civilized society. His senses underdeveloped and intellectual functions atrophied, he was destitute of all means of human communication. "In a word, his whole life was a completely animal existence."⁹⁶

A young doctor, Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard, devoted, idealistic, and patient, took on the responsibility of caring after the boy and of converting him into a social and cultural being. In his monumental work, Itard set five principal aims of "the mental and moral education of the Wild Boy of Aveyron" as follows:

- "1st Aim. To interest him in social life by rendering it more pleasant to him than the one he was then leading, and above all more like the life which he had just left.
- 2nd Aim. To awaken his nervous sensibility by the most energetic stimulation, and occasionally by intense emotion.

- 3rd Aim. To extend the range of his ideas by giving him new needs and by increasing his social contacts.
- 4th Aim. To lead him to the use of speech by inducing the exercise of imitation through the imperious law of necessity.
- 5th Aim. To make him exercise the simplest mental operations upon the objects of his physical needs over a period of time afterwards inducing the application of these mental processes to the objects of instruction. "

These are words published in 1801 any comments, gentle readers?

Footnotes

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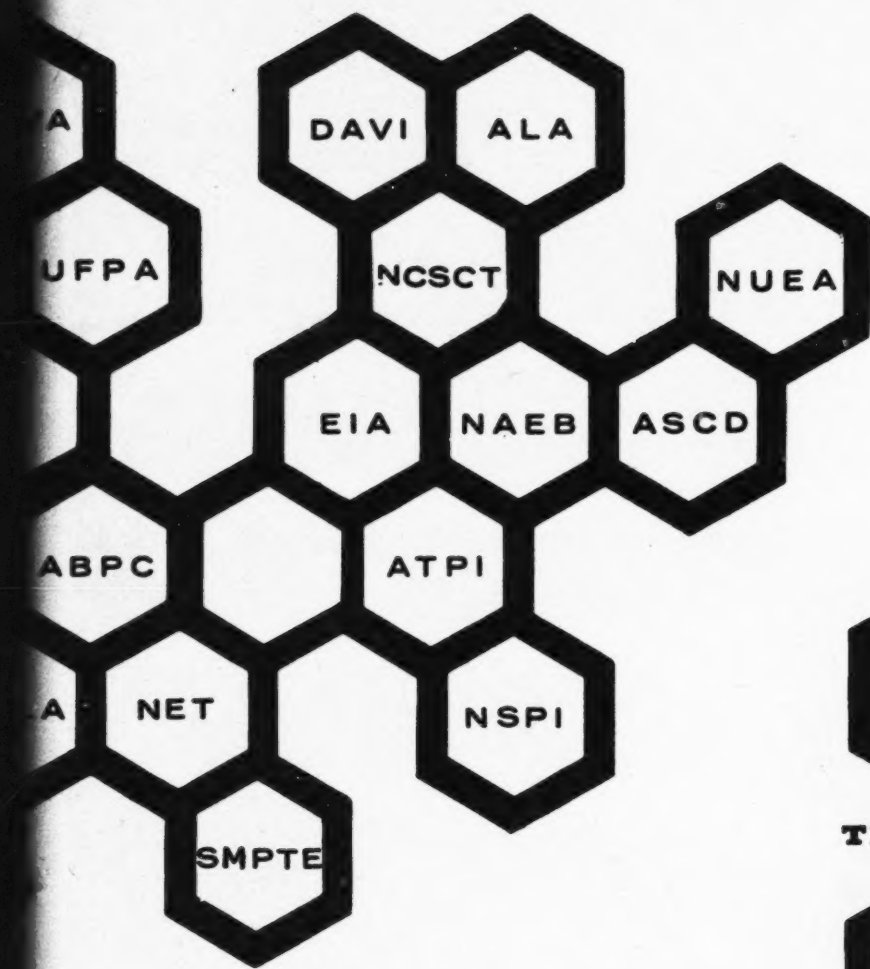
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APPENDIX D



FINAL REPORT

Project No. OE 5-160032
Contract No. OE 5-16-032

A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES
TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

May, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

EDUCATIONAL MEDIA AND THE INHUMAN CONDITION*

Joe L. Frost
The University of Texas

A recurring question arising from contemporary concern with the education of culturally disadvantaged families is how we may effectively use educational media to alter the inhuman effects of impoverished living.

The problem at large is the development of aspiration, hope, dignity, and know-how for tens of thousands of disadvantaged families. These are the impoverished that are present in every geographical area of this country, concentrated in certain pockets of poverty--the inner city slums, migrant labor camps, Indian reservations, and certain rural areas of Appalachia and the Southwest. They represent various races and creeds but tend to have common educational deficiencies to pass on to each successive generation. These include deficiencies in concept development--time, number, space, and causality; severe language disabilities; health deficits; intellectual and educational retardation. Such deficits are usually environmentally induced. Having limited opportunity to actively explore diverse objects and communicate in various forms through multiple avenues, at least through rich stimulating ones, these and other deficits naturally ensue.

But this represents only a partial view. Living in a cultural Siberia commonly results in school dropout, delinquency, and crime, effectively foreclosing opportunity for breaking the cycle of failure. Upon finding himself in these straits, or perhaps during the process, the individual suffers progressive loss of hope and sees no way to alleviate his condition. For all essential purposes such an individual is alienated from the mainstream of society--relegated to inhuman conditions of living.

Educational media, for purposes of this discussion include the total spectrum: television, programed instruction, various forms of graphics, recordings, print, etc. Although printed materials are commonly managed separately in libraries, television by separate enterprises, various other media by audiovisual specialists and language laboratories--the complexity of problems we are concerned with here will ultimately require an integrated, total involvement approach. The practices of the past--piecemeal utilization and repetition of effort and resources--may yield interesting "findings" for eager researchers, yet will have little impact on the problem at large. Consistent with the myriad of problems, involving in reality the total human complexity, approaches, to be effective, must be broadly based, integrated, relevant to specific problems, and oriented toward the development of humanness.

*Prepared for the Educational Media Council, Incorporated.

Specific problem areas are amenable to educational media. Though we would be foolish to assume that media alone can dramatically alter the inhuman condition. Humanness--hopes and fears, aspirations, superstitions, attitudes, values, prejudices, likes, dislikes, loves, hates--is essentially learned through human interaction. As children grow they assimilate the characteristics of the adults close to them. Destinies are shaped early. No amount of environmental manipulation begun at adulthood is likely to erase the effects of early deprivation. But it is clear that a degree of positive change can be accomplished. And it is with this hope and expectation that approaches are planned. Inanimate objects do not directly transmit humanness, but desirable or undesirable human qualities can be portrayed, described, and ultimately accommodated into an individual's behavioral patterns. Television, for example, has been remarkably effective in promoting lust, greed, delinquency, and crime. Comparable talent, time, and material resources, conceivably, could significantly alter these conditions.

Problems of Disadvantaged Families

Substandard conditions of living have resulted in chronic dependence for large portions of society. Some dimensions of the inhuman conditions characteristic of disadvantaged families are as follows:

1. Families do not value the school as a supportive institution. They view education as desirable but sustain little hope for systematic academic success. Schools have not as yet accepted into practice the all-important concept of individuality. Standardization, instruction based on irrelevant printed materials, inappropriate testing, grade-level standards, ABCDF reporting (D and F for the disadvantaged), obsession for cleanliness and routine, narrowly defined educational roles ("We can't help it if he has cavities or if he is hungry; our job is to teach."), and enforced estrangement between the school and the parents of the poor have conspired to produce educational alienation.

2. Community service and social organizations effectively deny participation of low-income people. Many Parent-Teacher Associations have deteriorated, if indeed they were ever different, to money-changing mercantiles intent on such activities as praising ineffective, bored teachers through teas and treats. The inhuman condition of poverty has fostered precious little acquaintance with teas and treats. For soliciting total involvement of the community in the tasks of the school, this represents a form of insidious yet effective discrimination.

The welfare system contributes to degradation of the poor in numerous ways. Prospective clients are commonly asked questions reflecting upon marital fidelity and moral conduct. Political alignment in certain areas determines whether, or how much, aid is forthcoming. Certain it is that all values held by middle-class people are not worth striving toward.

And certain it is, in the realm of value considerations, that educational focus upon one segment of society alone will fail to alleviate the ills of any segment. Many churches continue to ban Negro worshippers from their midst, confusing their campaign of hate with the teachings of Christianity.

3. Few would deny that education is the answer to poverty, yet educational focus has not been directed toward that remarkably effective educational institution, the family. Parents know little about reinforcing the values and expectations of the school. Yet the minimal attention directed to parents typically occurs after children have entered school--too late for optimum effectiveness. If education were organized consistent to the way children grow and develop, more educational time and money would be spent during the preschool stage than during the high school years. Since preschool children learn from their parents essentially what the parents have learned (learning through imitation is extremely effective during infancy and early childhood), it follows that education during early parenthood would result in fewer complications for children upon arrival at school.

4. Families have little knowledge of health and sanitation. Aspirations for higher-order human needs--esteem and self fulfillment--remain inoperative in the absence of physiological and affectional need fulfillment. That is, the educative process will be ineffective for people suffering from dietary deficiencies, disease, and inordinate physical abuse. Consequently, the base of education must be broadened to ensure prevailing basic need fulfillment. This must be done in ways that allow individuals to preserve dignity.

5. Families of minority groups (especially Negro and Mexican-American) have limited acquaintance with success figures. The absence of Negro and Mexican-American models on television, radio, or in the immediate community contributes to the absence of achievement motivation. How, for example, can a Negro aspire to become a respected Negro lawyer if he has never seen one or if he knows one who has suffered repeated abuse by his "successful colleague"?

6. Parents need assistance in planning families and in establishing permanent family structures. Those least equipped to provide for rudimentary living needs and to create stimulating conditions for intellectual and social development typically bear the greatest responsibilities through giving birth to many children. Concerns related to rearing a large family in the absence of regular income lead to conflict, separation, and divorce. Among the many elements contributing to delinquency, dropout, and inferior human relations through the life span, none is more devastating and sure in its effects than the broken home.

7. Family members are perceptually restricted. We have known for a long time that individuals practice selective perception. What

exists is not so important to the person as what he thinks exists. He behaves according to how things seem to him at the moment. How things seem depends upon what has happened in the past. Misinformation may have been (for the disadvantaged commonly is) the rule rather than the exception. This is particularly true in regard to ideas held about social institutions that have produced large measures of success for everyone else, but rarely for oneself or one's close relations. This knowledge, of course, holds important implications for educative procedure.

Severely impoverished families are alienated from the mainstream of American society intellectually and physically. They do possess certain cultural strengths, though it appears that these are strengths only in relation to negative traits which their culture possesses. No concrete evidence has been produced that indicates systematic superiority over the "mainstream" or "middle-class" culture on any variable. This should not preclude recognition and utilization of positives peculiar to the poor. More importantly, compensatory approaches cannot be narrowly focused upon the sentimentalities of searching for poorly defined positives while neglecting direct attack on obvious deficiencies. A more sensible approach would recognize the problems which are intolerable in today's world and direct compensatory approaches toward accommodation of "strengths" of the culture, e.g., physical orientation to learning, slower learning style, unique modes of communication. Essentially, instructional strategy would proceed from diagnosis, and comprehensive diagnosis results in a picture of strengths and deficits.

It is common knowledge that disadvantaged youngsters depend heavily upon nonverbal messages--tone, expression, gesture, mood, movement, silence, etc.; for gaining meaning from teachers.¹ We may consider ability to gain meanings in this way as a positive aspect of the culture, in one sense, but viewed from an instructional perspective, how much is known about maximizing this knowledge in interpersonal contacts? How may educational media be utilized to convey messages that are only intuitively grasped by perceptive, sensitive, empathic individuals? It is conceivable that progress may result from simultaneous usage of several techniques coupled with imaginative evaluation. Whatever the approach, the technique, or the media, these intolerable deficits--illiteracy, disease, fear, superstition--must be replaced by literacy, good health, hope, confidence, and educational know-how.

Toward a Psychology of Learning for Humans

The degree of importance that one attaches to teaching machines and programed materials depends largely upon beliefs about the nature of learning

¹Basil Bernstein "Social Structure, Language, and Learning," Educational Research III, June 1961 p. 163-176

and development, and whether instructional practice should eventuate from either.

The appearance of a profusion of programmed materials in the past two years is witness to the use of reinforcement theory as a basis for prescription in instruction. The reasonable success of these materials is then said to validate the theory behind them as a basis for prescription. . . if this approach is really modeled after the nature of learning, the results of programmed materials should surpass those of the usual approaches by extremely large actual as well as statistically significant differences. To date there is no evidence to indicate this overwhelming superiority.²

Learning theory may in reality have a great deal to say about instructional theory when more accurate descriptions of learning are available. It is quite probable that many active writers and researchers are continuing to extract educational implications from outmoded psychology.

Unquestionably the stimulus-response model of learning is by far the easiest model on which to base research. . . this pattern has had such a monopoly on the field that some psychologists call it "learning theory", implying that no other conceptual model is possible. . . For 50 years it (S-R model) has almost monopolized the facilities of the experimental laboratories, and during that time this theory has not led to the invention of a single educational technique which was not already in use and originally derived from the prescientific folk theories of exercise, reward, and punishment. . . If reinforcement theory could be put into educational practice, it would only serve to teach what is already known, to promote conventional, conforming behavior, to prepare pupils to live in a world exactly like the one in which they are educated.³

The mechanistic stimulus-response ideas are being replaced by modern psychology that views man in the process of becoming a self-actualizing being.

Present-day teacher education is still deeply influenced by the stimulus-response (S-R) approach. . . it has become clear that so mechanistic a view of psychology cannot supply the answers we need. . . a whole new practice has arisen calling for new theoretical concepts, new

²James B. MacDonald, "Myths About Instruction," Educational Leadership, XXII, May 1965, p. 573.

³Donald Snygg, "A Cognitive Field Theory of Learning," in Learning and Mental Health in the Schools, ASCD, 1966 Yearbook.

understandings, and new directions. . . . The most important thing about man is his existence, the fact of his being and becoming. Modern psychology sees man as engaged in a continuous striving for self-fulfillment.⁴

Hunt⁵ has produced an effective condemnation of the notions of fixed intelligence and predetermined development. His extensively documented work points out clearly that a great deal more goes on between the ears than implied by stimulus-response theory. Gordon⁶ carries this thinking further to develop a comparative schema illustrating changing conception of human potentiality. He shifts the focus from a fixed, innately determined, to a dynamic, environmentally modifiable model.

Newtonian Model Man

A mechanistic, fixed, closed system characterized by:

- (1) fixed intelligence
- (2) development as an orderly unfolding
- (3) potential as fixed, although indeterminable
- (4) a switchboard model brain
- (5) a steam-engine driven motor
- (6) homeostatic regulator (drive reduction)
- (7) inactive until engine is stoked

Einsteinian Model Man

An open-energy, self-organizing system characterized by:

- (1) modifiable intelligence
- (2) development as modifiable in both rate and sequence
- (3) potential as creatable through transaction with environment
- (4) a computer brain
- (5) a nuclear power-plant energy system
- (6) inertial guidance and self-regulatory feedback-motivation system
- (7) continuously active

The Einsteinian (transactional) view implies interaction of independent entities--person to person or person to event--and suggests that "behavior cannot be understood apart from the situation in which it occurs."

These new conceptions are resulting in re-examination of learning, development, and motivation. Man is viewed as an active, competence-oriented, self-actualizing system. His development toward self-fulfillment is largely dependent upon the nature and quality of his interactional life experiences.

⁴Arthur W. Combs. The Professional Education of Teachers. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965. p. 10, 16.

⁵J. McVicker Hunt. Intelligence and Experience. New York: The Ronald Press, 1961.

⁶Ira J. Gordon. Studying the Child in School. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966. p. 2.

The interrelationships that exist among language, intelligence, thinking, and social, physical, and emotional factors imply that growth toward self-fulfillment has a unitary, integrated focus. The individual is shaped by nature and nurture. Educators do not, as yet, tamper with the genes. Consequently, we focus upon the nature and quality of experiences that are amenable to environmental manipulation (see Figure 1).

Schema for Human Development

The individual has certain inborn needs, reinforced by the culture of his home and community, which seek fulfillment: physiological needs--food, clothing, and health; safety needs--freedom from physical abuse and mental stress; affectional needs--facilitative people around him; and esteem needs--favor and appreciation of his peers. Hawkes⁸ states the challenge clearly:

If the gap between what society actually provides in terms of the effective wherewithal for living and what it purports to provide becomes too great, the individual becomes frustrated and skeptical and will sooner or later seek a new society in which he does not perceive this great gap. The effective society is one which enables the individual within it to develop personal loyalties because his needs are being met. Aspirations can then follow which are congenial to social values held by the society. . . it appears that some of these appetites of human beings must be accommodated before others can blossom and mature.

As the individual grows through time, he gains skill in language and thinking. As he experiences widely, he engages in more complex thinking. He begins to formulate procedures which are widely recognized as scientific problem solving: isolating a problem, gathering information for possible solutions, taking action aimed toward a solution, drawing tentative conclusions in terms of these commonly held values, and applying them in varied situations. As he builds backgrounds of meanings, values, and norms are called up automatically without undue consideration of consequence or effect. He needs "telling" less often and weighs information to reach the "best" conclusion. Percepts and concepts are thrown into fresh combinations to accommodate the individual's enlarging world of thinking. This leads to the emergency of the highest form of language and thought activity--creativity.

All persons have the potential for creative behavior, but substandard conditions of living may restrict or prohibit its emergence. The conditions that facilitate creative behavior are conditions that contribute to self-fulfillment. In the past, creative activity implied only tangible products, but this misconception is being replaced by a more dynamic view.

We still search for and encourage the tangible, but the concept of creativity has been enlarged to include ideas, decisions, relationships, problem-solving: results of man's cognitive powers. The

⁸Glenn R. Hawkes. "Human Needs and the Community," in The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations. (Edited by Joe L. Frost and Glenn R. Hawkes) Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1966. p. 419.

product, whatever form it may take, would not evolve without the process. The growing realization of the universality of creativity, of man's heretofore unsuspected capacity for creativeness, of the uniqueness of every individual places the idea of creativity in new perspective. . . . Creativity is necessary for a fully adequate personality.⁹

These views hold powerful implications for media and content. What should be communicated? Hadley Cantril¹⁰ suggests seven requirements the individual places on society. An individual must have the opportunity to develop (1) a sense of personal identity and integrity; (2) a sense of worthwhileness; (3) a sense of community; (4) a sense of self in both time and space; (5) a sense of personal development; (6) a sense of commitment; and (7) a need for societal mechanisms which will ensure the satisfaction of the human appetites.

Perhaps the most promising contribution of automation will be revealed in number seven--ensuring the satisfaction of the human appetites. Beyond this requirement, as needs become increasingly humanistic, mechanistic contributions promise decreasing effectiveness.

Prospective Contributions of Programed Instruction

The use of certain educational media for disadvantaged parents or their children warrants careful prescription. The philosophical and psychological bases that have enhanced educational deficiencies in the past are now the bases for promoting mechanistic revisions that convey questionable prospect for educational progress. I view the basic problems of the poor as humanistic, not mechanistic; psychological, not logical. Specifically, I see no way for kits of workbook-type materials, programed materials, and teaching machines to probe beyond elementary symptoms to the basic issues of discrimination and educational alienation. Our greatest efforts should be aimed at alleviating these conditions. The many "basic to living" problems resulting from discrimination--lack of food, clothing, shelter, and health; loss of hope and aspiration--must also be dealt with before common "school-type" experiences will have meaning. Educational alienation has resulted in part from inappropriate instructional practices using materials that lack relevance to the poor. While I recognize the value of programed instruction for teaching or practicing factual information for

⁹ASCD. Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming. Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1962. p. 142.

¹⁰Hadley Cantril. "The Individual's Demand on Society," in Conflict and Creativity. (Edited by Seymour M. Farber and Roger H. L. Wilson) New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

some, the widespread misuse of such materials prompts careful prescription for disadvantaged people. Further, I would submit that only teachers with sufficient flexibility and insight to develop materials appropriate to this group be retained for the purpose of teaching. It is imperative that the prevailing practice of placing the least effective teachers with the least effective learners be discontinued. Only the best kind of teacher will make any lasting difference with the disadvantaged. The teacher who must rely upon printed guides will fail regardless of approach. We have commonly assumed otherwise because most "middle class" people learn amazingly well--but middle-class people learn a great deal of information in spite of the teachers.

Imaginative utilization of carefully programed machines holds promise for success in certain tasks. For example, the teaching of reading to illiterate adults or on-going instruction in reading and mathematics for any age group may be facilitated. The possibility exists that many educationally disadvantaged adults would feel more comfortable and learn certain skills more effectively from a computerized machine than from the ordinary teacher, especially those adults who have been effectively alienated by the common teaching-learning experiences. Making learning a family affair, with several members (any age level) receiving simultaneous instruction via highly individualized programs may help build closer family solidarity.

Alleged advantages of such mechanized systems include unlimited patience, instantaneous analysis of responses, provision of unlimited information, and the automatic production of student progress records. Careful attention to such teaching may allow the truly creative, flexible, supportive teacher to reach more people. A likely location and time for such programs would be in public schools, after school hours.

Developing Imaginative Library Programs

Much depends upon the distribution range of information materials. Many parents fail to subscribe to newspapers and magazines simply because they cannot afford the cost. Ways should be found to ensure daily delivery of newspapers to low income areas. Area merchants may be eager to assume this cost for advertising purposes. The common belief that these families dislike reading has not been demonstrated in practice. On the contrary, many are avid readers of "junk" material which is traded from home to home.

Cost consciousness has been largely responsible for the enforced absence of the poor from city, county, regional, and school libraries. Great concern over torn pages, overdue books, permanent residence status, and the reservation of school libraries for school children may save a few dollars but take the eventual toll from literacy and human potentiality.

Being assessed a library fine, a matter of course for middle-class adults, may be comprehended as a minor crime to the disadvantaged parent.

Such practices that have failed in the past should be reviewed and replaced by more acceptable ones. For example, a sensitive person may be assigned to writing letters, making phone calls, or visiting homes of the poor to communicate understanding of library resources. In any event, I hope to make clear here that the provision and manipulation of media alone, print or otherwise, will not significantly alter the inhuman condition. Sensitive, empathic, perceptive humans are essential.

Let us consider the efforts of a perceptive elementary school librarian. The library contained a section of books for parents, to be checked out by children or the parents themselves. Many paperbacks were available, reducing cost, increasing titles available, and allowing for occasional loss. Specified times were set aside for parents to visit the library, browse, check out books, listen to recordings, or use the school facilities for small group meetings. Books were often returned by the children with instructions for checking out others. No fines were assessed. The occasional parent who lost a book was encouraged to check out others. The myopic educational vision of school boards, administrators, and teachers that views dimly the prospect and promise of comprehensive interaction between the school and the parents of the poor whom they serve has resulted in our present "closed shop" institutions. The effects need no elaboration here.

Space Age Communication: Promise and Challenge

The comprehensive utilization of a communications satellite system promises to become the most significant educational media innovation of this generation. A program similar to those recently proposed by the Ford Foundation and/or the Communications Satellite Corporation would provide for a large proportion of the total cost of nationwide educational television; would come from the savings realized by domestic communications carriers (television, telephone, telegraph) through switching from towers, cables, landlines, and mail routes to a less expensive satellite system. Such a system would have unlimited and inexpensive television coverage in homes, schools, and other community buildings. The prevailing issue, however, would remain: What shall be communicated? By whom? For what purpose?

Regional centers for the development of programs would undoubtedly be needed to avoid costly repetition; to provide for high-quality professionals from education and the television industry; to evaluate community needs.

Another inexpensive and promising approach for communicating with disadvantaged families is the telewriter approach, a system using the media of electrowriter, remote chalkboards, and an amplified telephone conference set. Leased telephone lines are used to provide two-way voice communication and for the transmission of an individual's handwriting which is automatically duplicated on large screens in assembly rooms at remote locations. This provides for very large group utilization of a few highly trained individuals. The participant can react verbally but lacks a visual

image of the speaker, who may be hundreds of miles distant, sitting in his office. Increased effectiveness of this technique should be accomplished through a communications satellite system that may provide for the use of multisensory input--including direct visual and auditory participation of all individuals involved, wherever they may be. Telewriter can be viewed as a preliminary approach since it lacks the important element of visual projection and the relative simplicity of a satellite system which will provide an unimaginable complexity of services.

These space age systems will allow the Negro to interact with "success" figures; interaction of the Mexican-American migratory families with prospective employers well in advance of migration. Neighborhood systems, housed in familiar buildings, operated by persons who live in the neighborhood will conceivably promote fair labor practices, for transmissions can be taped and replayed at will.

Contributions from Business and Industry

Educators must not overlook avenues of attack developed by people not closely associated with teaching and the schools, which may produce promising practices. An initial OEO grant of \$188,000 was used to launch an experimental attack on poverty, supporting a plan by a long-time labor union official to "achieve cultural, social, political, and psychological renewal."¹¹ This proposal included:

1. A cultural center where local talent will act out the "internal expression of the community."
2. Federal sponsorship of unofficial town meetings where participants will debate their own pocketbook interests in national politics.
3. A government-backed newspaper run by local amateurs guided partly by labor unionists.

Although considerable controversy exists over the validity of "poverty designation" for this particular area (formerly Willow Run Village, Michigan), suggestive elements for programing remain.

Cass¹² suggests that education as a market and education as a human process are not the same thing. In spite of the Great Society program and recent mergers of publishing and electronics firms and the resulting hysterical drive to "create and market educational materials,

¹¹"Would You Fight Poverty This Way?" Nation's Business. LIII, April 1965. p. 104.

¹²James Cass. "Education in America," Saturday Review. July 16, 1966. p. 49.

systems, and services," the instructional programs that "promise to improve the quality of instruction, increase the efficiency of learning, and achieve the long-sought goal of individualized instruction," have not materialized. Further, considerable effort and money is being devoted to traditional channels that provide more of the same.

The advertising industry, extraordinarily effective in promoting practically everything except education, should be called upon to create techniques for developing education consciousness in low-income families. This would undoubtedly lead to focus upon the programs that these people view most often. Consider, for example, a country music show or a blues special interspersed with imaginative suggestions (and support by the performers) for promoting Johnny's school success; or a forty-foot billboard illustrating in unique form and color the time, date, place, and purpose of the next PTA meeting; or regular television programs beamed from the classroom to the home; or imaginative newspaper ads welcoming the migrant labor families to the community, outlining procedures for enrolling in school, offering free counsel in the home if needed.

Movement toward a cybernetic culture is preceding the preparation of society to live usefully and creatively in undreamed-of abundance and leisure. With nuclear energy and electronic computing machines on the threshold of replacing the drudgery of replicative tasks with unlimited freedom for human tasks, one-fifth of the nation lives in poverty. To learn to live in leisure and abundance is the task of many; to survive is the task of many others. Before this situation is reversed, we shall find ourselves in the strange situation of reversing efforts from training the poor for jobs, to training them for leisure. No human bookkeeper can match the computer; no baker the computerized bakery; no assembly line worker the intricate assembly machinery now in use. To train for such tasks in the future will be to substitute a human slave for a mechanical one.

The Athenian and the Roman enjoyed a life of leisure but their slave was human, not machine. The lesson is clear. The Athenian lived a fruitful human existence, creating enduring beauty, excelling in art and philosophy, engaging in abstraction and generalization. The Romans were practical but visionless, storing up luxuries and material conquests. We are faced with the same choice--and the same fate.

The fruits of automation--the very machines that produce leisure--must pay for education for the art of living. Just as the Ford Foundation proposed that a portion of the savings from the use of communicating satellites be used for establishing national educational television, so must similar space age revolutions pay the bill for re-educating and renewing the living of disadvantaged families. Business and industry must share the fruits of science to bring re-education in tune with decreasing manpower needed for increasing production.

The limited success of compensatory programs of recent years leads to the conclusion that the time has come when all families should be guaranteed an annual income sufficient to provide the bare essentials of human sustenance. The prevailing contention that such aid would dampen incentive may well be a myth. For only when the basic human needs--food, clothing, shelter, health--are met will individuals direct their energies toward the attainment of self-esteem, intellectual goals, and human service.

Federal Contributions to Educational Media

At the present time, with record amounts of Federal support for educational media, educators are hard-pressed to produce programs to match the already available machinery. This is often stated in another fashion--the quality of "soft ware" does not match the quality of hardware. And as Davis¹³ points out, "for years the moan has been 'If only we had the money we could build a real program!' The Congress voted the money, probably not enough, but millions, and educators' long-held posture was seen for the bluff that it was. "

A summary¹⁴ of federal educational programs providing support for new media shows the amount of support, the supportive agencies at state and local levels, and other pertinent facts of interest to educators. The types of aid for new media are noted here:

National Defense Education Act

- (1) Matching funds for purchase of instructional materials and equipment in elementary and secondary schools
- (2) Equipment and materials for state supervision of instruction
- (3) Research and dissemination of information about the use of new media, which may be done by individuals and by public and nonprofit institutions
- (4) Institutes for training teachers and educational media specialists with funds for rental, lease, or purchase of instructional material and equipment

Arts and Humanities Act

- (1) Matching funds for the purchase of instructional materials and equipment at the elementary and secondary levels

¹³O. L. Davis. "Title I: What a First Inning!" Educational Leadership. XXIV, October 1966. p. 17-18.

¹⁴Educational Screen and Audio-Visual Guide. XLV, June 1966. p. 26-27.

Vocational Education Act

- (1) Purchase of materials and equipment for improvement of vocational education programs

Economic Opportunity Act

- (1) Instructional materials and equipment for training disadvantaged youth
- (2) Instructional materials for preschool training of disadvantaged youth
- (3) Instructional supplies, equipment, and teaching aids for adult-literacy programs

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

- (1) Financial assistance (grants) for the education of children of low-income families (elementary and secondary)
- (2) Grants for the purchase of library books, audiovisual materials and textbooks
- ((3) Grants for projects to provide new educational services and to develop model educational programs
- (4) Grants to various types of institutions, agencies, associations, and organizations for research and demonstration programs
- (5) Development of regional laboratories for assistance to schools and regional pilot programs for special services

Higher Education Facilities Act

- (1) Matching grants and loans for academic facilities and instructional equipment for higher education

Higher Education Act of 1965

- (1) Books and instructional materials (including audiovisual) for libraries
- (2) Matching funds for laboratory, audiovisual, and closed-circuit television equipment and materials
- (3) Faculty development programs for training in the use of educational media equipment

Conspicuously absent among these provisions are funds and programs for learning how to use media more effectively with families in out-of-school contexts. Apparently, these programs do allow flexibility for involvement of parents in many school-related activities. Title II-B of the Economic Opportunity Act released \$21,100,000 for adult literacy programs during 1965-66. This relatively small figure compared to various other educational appropriations reveals questionable emphasis.

Reappraising Educational Contexts for Total Involvement

Where and when can educational media be used most effectively with disadvantaged families? Obviously, the slum home is not the answer. Instability, conflict, and lack of supervision preclude meaningful participation. The community center does offer a relative degree of security and proximity and supervision can be accomplished. The successful community centers already in existence are continuing testimony to this fact. Some possibilities for using schools more effectively have been explored in this paper. But none of these approaches provides the essential ingredients--total involvement and, if you will, escape from the ever-present slum conditions which delimit effectiveness of educational approaches in advance. I see no alternative to escape and re-establishment of involvement in a space-to-move-and-call-one's-own context. One such attempt has resulted in high-rise living, but relocation without reinvolvement through comprehensive family programs holds temporary promise at best. Such relocation has three major deficits: (1) too many impoverished people remain crowded in a small area; (2) such relocation does not remove the problem far enough from its source--problem schools and problem neighborhoods; and (3) comprehensive family educational programs with imaginative people, media, and facilities are not built into the relocation plans. The systematic relocation of slum families from severely crowded areas paralleled by massive physical and educational renewal of all areas involved, including those left behind, may ultimately become our goal. The feasibility and success of such an undertaking can be tested by a pilot project. The collaboration of professional groups, community agencies, industry, and government would be essential for total involvement projects of this nature.

Many of the present piece-meal programs will run their course of limited success or failure before the wisdom of total involvement is finally established. The present strangle-holds of bureaucratic bookwork and political patronage presently rule such revision remote.

Intermediate to the widespread establishment of broadly based centers of learning in re-established family centers--urban or rural--are the possibilities of leasing state camping centers (Boy Scout Camps, 4-H Camps, etc.) for experimentation as media centers for disadvantaged children and their parents. Here, on a 24-hour basis new media could be explored, new patterns of living could be tried on for size, personnel for helping with instructional programs in communities could be identified, health deficits

could be cared for, and family members could play and learn together in a total involvement context.

Molding the Educational Image

Another problem that faces the educator is the misrepresentation and diminution of public education by mass media. Gerbner¹⁵ explored some aspects of the relationship between the schools and mass media. His review left little doubt of the image of public education held by mass media enterprises and their audiences.

In personal success stories of popular magazines, the star of media-- apart from politicians--was depicted in 90 per cent of the articles. The majority of those people immortalized on person-to-person type television shows came from entertainment and mass media. The teacher in literature is an "inhibited, sexless prune. . . stooped, gaunt, and grey with weariness." American movies portray teachers' opportunities for success in love with anybody at 50-50. The film teacher leaving the profession became a successful entertainer five times out of six.

An analysis of 56 fiction stories dealing with teachers in the Saturday Evening Post revealed:

Most teachers were represented as coming from the outside, as aliens to the community, often in conflict with the community. . . frequently portrayed in material and financial difficulty. . . one-third of all teacher characters quit the profession. In no story was a teacher ever given a salary raise. . . no community took the initiative to build or improve schools.

A study of education news in daily newspapers, by Gloria Dapper and Barbara Carter in Saturday Review (March 17, 1962) found that, "if you depend on your local newspaper for information on education, chances are you have virtually no information or perspective on the major national issues in education and only the most fragmentary view of even the local school picture."

Gerbner suggested three courses of planning and action that continue to represent critical areas of need: (1) schools must find ways to improve relations with mass media and work toward improving the quality of educational reporting; (2) schools must involve the parents in schools, trying to educate them directly; and (3) curricula must reflect the needs and demands of 20th century popular culture.

¹⁵George Gerbner. "Teachers and Schools in the Mass Media," Phi Delta Kappan. XLIV, February 1963. p. 202-205.

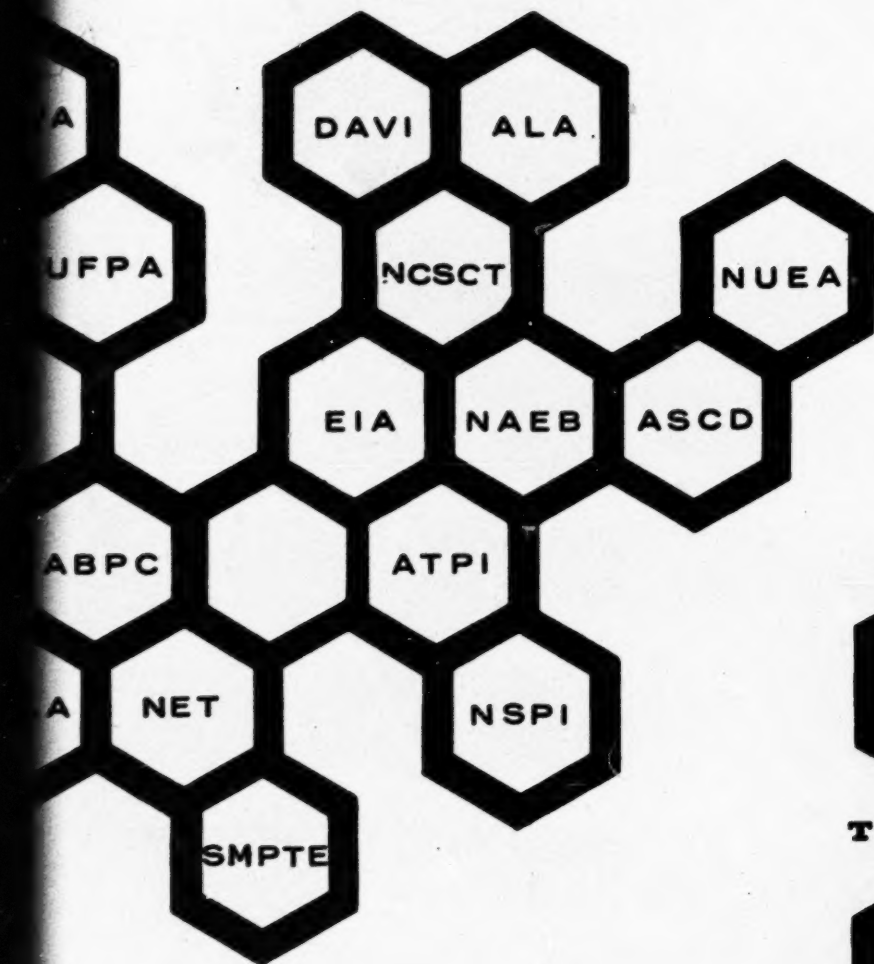
However, no amount of reporting or orienting will permanently shape a favorable image that does not exist. It is precisely to this objective--the development of an image worthy of projection--that education needs to muster its strength. Arrowsmith¹⁶ masterfully presents the educational challenge of our time:

...so long as the teacher is viewed merely as a diffuser of knowledge or a highly popularizer, his position will necessarily be a modest and even menial one. . . there is no necessary link between scholarship and education, nor between research and culture.... It is men we need, not programs. It is possible for a student to go from kindergarten to graduate school without ever encountering a man--a man who might give him the only profound motivation for learning, the hope of becoming a better man. Learning matters, of course; but it is the means, not the end. . .

Instruction through media other than books is no more mechanical or impersonal than books. Yet proliferation of remote prescription and cumulative loss of the human touch will extract its price from involvement, commitment, and personal meaning. New media holds great promise for reshaping the character of teaching, but limited prospect for rebuilding the character of teachers. . . or of the disadvantaged.

¹⁶William Arrowsmith. "The Future of Teaching." Address to the American Council of Education. New Orleans. October 1966.

APPENDIX E



FINAL REPORT

Project No. OE 5-160032
Contract No. OE 5-16-032

A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

May, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

MEDIA AND THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

Virginia H Mathews
and
Wenda S Thompson

Presently 35 million Americans exist on incomes rated as insufficient for daily needs. This figure is significant; it represents living people, people who must be helped. Of these 35 million, nearly one-fourth are children, who are least able to help themselves. These are the "disadvantaged," the "deprived," the "underprivileged" of current literature.

Though they are combined statistically, it is a dangerous mistake to regard these children as a homogeneous group, when in reality they represent different backgrounds, cultures and experiences. Further, within each of these sub-groups, the individual differences may outweigh intergroup differences, so a "different from me" attitude as opposed to a "different from us" attitude is a must, particularly in the planning of educational programs.

Many are concerned by the seriousness and immediacy of the problem, David P. Ausubel writing in Audiovisual Instruction, discusses the partial irreversibility of this educational deficit:

The child who has an existing deficit in growth incurred from past deprivation is less able to profit developmentally from new and more advanced levels of environmental stimulation. Thus, irrespective of the adequacy of all other factors, both internal and external--his deficit tends to increase cumulatively and to lead to permanent retardation.¹

Ausubel's study as well as others which investigate rate of intellectual development indicate the value of reaching "deprived" children as early as possible. Loretan and Umans make an interesting point:

If 80% of one's intellectual development takes place before the age of eight, how much can be accomplished by remediation or unlearning and relearning, after that age? The country is spending millions of dollars on dropouts and "last-chance" programs; however, what little evaluation we have done on these programs tells us that few are "saved," and even these who do stay in school have marginal existences there--the slightest upset drives them out of school.²

1. David P. Ausubel. "The Effects of Cultural Deprivation on Learning Patterns," Audiovisual Instruction, Volume 10. January 1965. p. 11.

2. Joseph O. Loretan and Shelley Umans. Teaching the Disadvantaged: New Curriculum Approaches. New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966. p. 19.

Within the past few years, with the availability of Federal funds, the number of programs designed and established to improve the education of these children from "disadvantaged" backgrounds has mushroomed dramatically. Various approaches, patterns of organization, materials of instruction, types of training programs and utilization of personnel are espoused. While it is evident that no single approach to the education of so many diverse groups can be fully effective, certain methods of enhancing the quality of any program for these children appear to offer promise and warrant consideration.

This, then, is our concern: the quality of education for these and all children, and its improvement. The nature of the Educational Media Council is such that our area of specific competence and responsibility lies in the field of materials (books, films, television, recordings, tapes, programs, etc.), thus we have addressed ourselves in this paper to that part of the educational enterprise: how materials can best support a program of effective instruction designed to raise the quality of education for children of pre-school and elementary age.

Why do we feel that a variety of materials can contribute significantly to any program?

One of the difficulties faced by the "culturally different" child is that while he has had varied and diverse experiences outside of school, few of these activities have relevance to understanding and participation in school activities. In his testimony to the Subcommittee on Education, Dr. Robert H. Burgert, Director of Instructional Aids, San Diego City Schools, told of a school located six blocks from the sea in which less than half of the children had ever seen the ocean. He stated:

Obviously, before songs, stories, or books about the sea, ocean, travel, international trade can be meaningful to these children they must extend through the modern miracle of the color-sound film, the television receiver, excursions and other audiovisual materials and techniques understanding of the sea and its hidden as well as apparent facets.³

In discussing social sciences Loretan and Umans state:

The disadvantaged youngster, verbally handicapped, may find pictures just as expressive and just as informative as written textbooks. Students and teachers too often dismiss pictures as a basis for learning, equating them with recreation instead of accepting picture study as a skill. . . .

3. Robert Burgert. Statement in Hearings before the Subcommittee on Education. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965. p. 1569.

Visual aids, in the form of silent or sound films, television, photographs, slides, charts, paintings, or film loops can become the intermediate step between concrete objects and the more abstract way of learning, the written word . . . Certainly the ability of visual presentations to persuade, to explain, and to set an emotional tone is well-known to political leaders and advertising.⁴

Writing of the "deprived" child's lack of readiness for school learning Ausubel continues:

In the presentation of abstract ideas and relational propositions, it is important for instructional materials and audiovisual aids to provide more concrete-imperical props and opportunities for direct plays and manipulation of objects and situations than would be considered desirable in a more typical classroom.⁵

Still another consideration lies in the methodology or instructional approach used in the typical classroom. Edgar Dale's "Cone of Experience," a graphic interpretation of the interrelationships of the various types of materials and their "positions" in the learning process with regard to relative directness or abstractness of the experience serves as a useful model in planning instructional programs. (See Illustration) However, a caution, the "bands" or levels are not considered as inflexible divisions, or the cone a model for teaching sequence. Rather, it should be understood that no one type of experience or "band" satisfies all students but that a balanced variety must be utilized for greater individualization of approach to learning style.⁶

Fantini and Weinstein, recognizing that the majority of school curriculums utilize primarily the method at the apex of the cone--teacher talk and books--those which are further away from direct experience--pointed out that with disadvantaged children this method meets with little success:

A curriculum for the disadvantaged must start as closely as possible to their direct experience for without such an approach, where will the abstract originate? By very definition, to abstract something means to pull out of something concrete . . . to represent something that is real. The basis for abstraction is in the concrete direct reality of the individual if it is to have any meaning for him.⁷

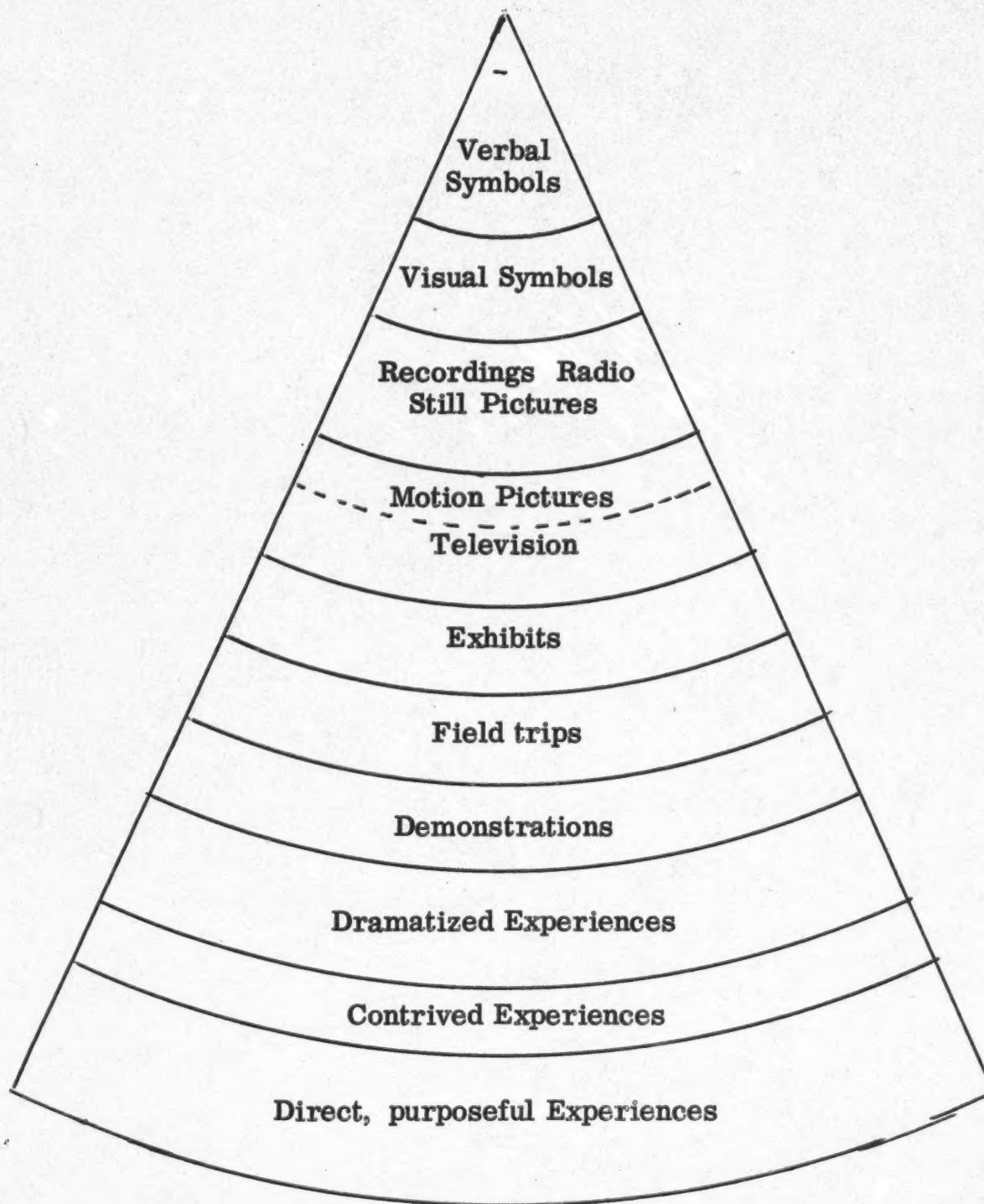
4. Joseph O. Loretan and Shelly Umans. Ibid. p. 91-92.

5. David P. Ausubel. Ibid. p. 12.

6. Edgar Dale. Audiovisual Methods in Teaching. (Revised Edition). New York: Dryden Press, 1957. p. 43.

7. Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein. Exerpt from Education and The Disadvantaged. To be published by Harper and Row.

Edgar Dale's "Cone of Experiences"



Ironically, books and printed materials are usually readily accepted as learning tools, but other media are often considered sources of entertainment or mechanical gimmicks. As one Head Start director commented:

I do believe we can get so involved in believing that a piece of equipment will cure all ills, completely forgetting that one piece will not do for all parts of the country or all children (a failing of much available material) and especially forgetting the teacher herself and that how she uses this is more important than the material itself.

What problems with materials and program planning seem to be apparent?

That materials of themselves are of little value is indisputable. It is selection and utilization which determines their effectiveness. Therefore, in the Educational Media Council's study of effective use of materials in instructional programs, efforts have been directed toward increasing teacher and parent familiarization with a variety of materials and their utilization.

Background research for the study conducted through surveys, interviews, and observation, revealed certain areas of weakness:

1. There was generally insufficient knowledge of what was available.
2. There was no standard of evaluation to determine how or what materials could be utilized most effectively.
3. There was little formal training in preparation or development of materials.
4. There was little opportunity for parental instruction in the use of currently available materials.
5. There was insufficient knowledge about means of obtaining Federal or local funds for materials (or for entire programs).

Superficially, the major problem seemed to be one of lack of awareness of available materials, the solution to which might be some form of bibliographic control of such information. However such a directory, although useful, is not enough: even if the teacher knows what is available, she still must determine what will best serve her particular purpose. Even more evident is the need for a basis of evaluation, for guidelines, for criteria which can be helpful in selecting appropriate materials and in developing new ones.

At a conference of Directors of National Defense Education Act Institutes for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, held at the University of

Wisconsin, Milwaukee, in July 1965, several directors recognized this need. Elizabeth Brady, Director of the NDEA Institute at San Fernando Valley State College stated:

There is a hazard in observation if participants become too preoccupied with 'how to' instead of 'what for' and 'why'.... without the underlying rationale any procedure becomes only a gimmick.

A similar statement was made by Jess Beard, Washburn University:

Let's give her (the teacher) a theoretical framework so she can put these practical things she has been doing into context.

And according to Thomas Horn, University of Texas:

Teachers still need to know 'how to' but unless they have a rationale on which to hang their 'how to's' they become frustrated, and go off in all directions. We took our participants through the process of model building. They found this extremely difficult, but said that for the first time, they were getting our answer for all our operations. I think it is essential that we have, in addition to the 'how to,' the rationale for it.⁸

One of the outcomes of the Elementary School Teaching Project, a project sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, was the development of "A Model for Developing Relevant Content for Disadvantaged Children" by Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein (see Appendix, pages E-25 - E-27). This functional model was designed to be used:

- a) as an organizer; to help sort out those components that could provide effective guidelines for a school's instructional program.
- b) as an aid to establishing criteria for relevance; to help explore the dimensions of relevance for the learner, its three main ingredients being
 - 1. when the teaching procedures matched the learning style of the youngster;
 - 2. when the content vehicles were related to or were coincident with the learners' reality or learners' content;

8. Report of Conference of Directors of NDEA Institution for Teaching of Disadvantaged Youth. University of Wisconsin, National Association of Education of Young Children. July 1965. p. 44, 65, 69.

3. when the content vehicles and teaching procedures dealt in some way with the affective concerns of the learner.
- c) as a generator of new practices; to help the teacher relate a given practice to the totality of the components identified and thereby initiate further developments, or extensions or newly conceived procedures.⁹

The goal of the Elementary School Teaching Project was to help the teacher and thereby improve the instruction of disadvantaged children. Examination of actual school programs where these children were enrolled was the approach of the Project staff.

Another endeavor with the same ultimate goal, Project Aware, was a study of the preparation of school personnel for working with disadvantaged children and youth. Financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, with the cooperation of staff of the U. S. Office of Education, the Study was conducted on a nation-wide basis during the summer of 1965 by Bank Street College of Education. Four populations were studied:

- 1) Programs in Colleges of Teacher Education and in Departments of Education in Institutions of Higher Learning,
- 2) Inservice Programs in Selected School Systems,
- 3) Summer Institutes for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, financed under Title XI of the National Defense Education Act, and
- 4) Teacher Education Programs financed under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The purposes and resultant findings of the study, as reported in the Project Aware final report, Teacher Education in A Social Context, are summarized below.

Purpose I: To describe selected programs designed to improve the knowledge, skills and attitudes of school personnel for working with disadvantaged children and youth;

Findings: The major strengths of the OEO Teacher Education Programs were their high degree of innovation (as evidenced by experimentation in the

9. Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein. "A Model for Developing Relevant Content for Disadvantaged Children." Presented at the 5th Annual Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Areas, Teachers College, Columbia University, Thursday, June 23, 1966.

preparation of teacher-aides); flexibility (multi-level composition of enrollee group allowing groups to range from administrators to teacher-aides), and responsiveness to the needs of both the participants and the community.

The principal weakness, apparently related to the required haste in planning, was in the management details.

The major strength of the NDEA Institutes for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth lay in their sharp focus and sense of direction. In some instances this very sharpness tended to restrict flexibility.

Purpose II: To identify unique and significant elements of such programs.

Findings: Although directors intended to devote equal attention to developing new insights and new teaching behavior, participants, in speaking about their personal and professional gains from these programs, spoke twice as frequently about new understandings gained than about strategies and methods for applying these understandings. Participants' suggestions for change also requested emphasis be placed on strategies and techniques or on more experiential learnings to develop their own strategies.

This was not a request for a shift of emphasis from understandings to techniques but rather for a balanced approach, building upon what had been accomplished and then taking the next step... Understandings without specific help in translating them into teaching behavior were seen as vague and somewhat amorphous.

Significantly the participants reported a more balanced outcome as between understandings and techniques in those institutes where a practicum was included than in the institutes which lacked a practicum.

Purpose III: To develop basic concepts and guidelines for emerging programs of this type.

Findings: Chapter Seven consists of recommendations for improving programs. These include Aware Teams' recommendations and proposed steps for implementation to those who are planning institute-type programs based on foundation or government support.

Examples:

That the goals of such programs be expressed in clear, realistic, behavioral terms, not in global abstractions.

That one criterion for selection of participants should be their potential effectiveness as agents for change within their own schools upon their return

That evaluation be included as an integral part of every program

That more emphasis be placed on parental participation in the programs and continuing relationships of parents and enrollees in the homes

That facilities and equipment be planned for optimum use¹⁰

Other significant recommendations are in relation to content, and instructional process of specific programs.

Studies such as Project Aware and the Elementary School Teaching Project are finding ways to improve preservice and in-service training for teachers in order to help them in their task of educating disadvantaged children. The selection and utilization of materials are necessarily dependent upon the findings of such studies since materials are useful only in terms of their relevance to the entire curriculum and its goals.

What guidelines or suggestions can the Educational Media Council offer?

Individuals working with deprived children in the school or community setting need immediate assistance, however. Constantly the question comes, "What can we do right now?" Precise solutions are difficult to find and if available often do not suit the situation described. Currently there are certain characteristics of materials for use with disadvantaged children which merit study. These characteristics are helpful as partial guidelines in selection and utilization of available materials or in the immediate development of new materials and are presented to help alleviate this dilemma:

1. Materials should reflect more than just one culture or race.

CAUTION: Watch out for stereotypes, such as the Chinese laundryman, and beware of mere superficial changes in skin color, names, or settings: environmental changes alone do not reflect other cultures.

2. Content should be realistic and identifiable to disadvantaged children.

CAUTION: Content should not be limited to the familiar, however, nor should it be morbid in attempting to picture the child's reality.

10. Gordon J. Klopff and Garda W. Bowman. Teacher Education in a Social Context, a study of the Preparation of School Personnel Working with Disadvantaged Children and Youth, New York: Bank Street College of Education, January 1966. p. 293-302.

3. Content should deal with the emotional reality of the child as well as with his physical reality.

CAUTION: This should go beyond what interests the child to what concerns him, such as the much discussed concern of self-identity or self-image. Situation, episodes, thoughts expressed must be as identifiable as the physical setting.

4. Materials should require greater participation by pupils and should elicit more responses.

CAUTION: The responses and participation should accomplish some worthwhile objective, and not merely serve to entertain and amuse.

5. More materials could be developed with the help of the disadvantaged rather than by someone else for them.

CAUTION: Adults who have lived an underprivileged life and have moved into the middle-class may tend to create materials which avoid any reflection of this type of life and which therefore become mirrors of "middle-class" culture.

6. Materials which are problem-centered are desirable.

CAUTION: These materials must not be too difficult, so that they are beyond the grasp of these children. They could easily be constructed with build-in successes to encourage, such as in the English S Program developed in Detroit.

No one of these characteristics should be regarded as a solution to the problem of selecting or designing materials appropriate for educating the disadvantaged more effectively. In a study of textbooks and curriculum materials recently conducted at the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University, researchers concluded that children form attitudes about racial differences despite what is taught in the classroom, thus implying that integrated textbooks which have been in use in the past few years are not the whole answer to the multi-racial educational situation.¹¹

11. John S. Gibson and William C. Kvaraceus. The Development of Instructional Materials Pertaining to Race and Culture in American Life. Tufts University, Lincoln Filene Center, 1966. (CRP-H-199)

Moreover, the presence of all those characteristics in a specific material does not in itself guarantee that the material will accomplish the desired objective of educating the disadvantaged child. In addition, each material must be evaluated on the basis of its relevance to the curriculum, its appropriateness for the intended audience, and its contribution to the specific objectives or outcomes being sought. For this reason, a model such as that of Fantini and Weinstein helps delineate a curriculum in terms of what a teacher is trying to do, so that the teacher can more easily select materials and methods which will aid him in this task.

What other recommendations provide guidance in use of specific material? There are other recommendations which should be considered in the selection, use, and development of specific types of material. The following discussion will attempt to point out some of these.

Books and other Printed Material

Books should be selected which deal with real people and real situations; however, Loretan¹² warns against choosing only material which mirrors the everyday life of the underprivileged child thus possibly confining or limiting his interest.

It is on the contrary, of great importance that these children--in view of the bleakness of their lives--hear stories that are completely in contrast to the real, stories that stir their imagination, stories that are sheer fantasy. There is always the man who grew ten feet tall, the princess who let her hair down. . . Stories such as these free children from 'racial thinking' and might open doors to divergent or creative thinking.

Care should be used in selecting reading material which is appropriate to the age level of the children, even though they may be slow learners. In Greene's The Schoolchildren¹³ there is an excerpt from a session in a real classroom in Harlem, in one of the schools which is receiving special additional funds. The class is made up of eleven-year-olds; the text for the reading lesson is the "Puppy and the Rabbit."

Teacher: "Let's open to the picture of the train getting itself ready to leave its home, the station. It's taking Ted and Sally and Tuffy to the country! It's a happy train. How can we tell? . . . Well, just look at the big smile on its engine!

12. Joseph O. Loretan and Shelley Umans, Ibid. p. 54.

13. Mary Frances Greene and Orletta Ryan. The Schoolchildren. New York: Pantheon Books, 1965. p. 31.

It is hardly surprising that there is resistance to learning to read when a primary reader such as this is being used (and has been used with these same children since the first grade).

The adults portrayed should be those familiar to the child, such as the corner grocer, the day laborer, or the social worker. However, the stereotype of the friendly policeman is not necessarily one of these. Dr. Keith Osborn, former consultant for Head Start from the Merrill Palmer Institute, told of a child in a friend's fourth grade class who began a paper on "My Friend, the Policeman" thus: "The Policeman is a dirty fink, he has my old man in jail."¹⁴

Films

Films which are produced with convenient stopping points are especially useful. Many films are too long in their entirety for the children's attention span, and contain too many concepts. If shorter segments could be discussed separately, concepts could be grasped more easily with less confusion or interference from later concepts in the film.

Availability of films is a problem which merits attention. Asked for personal reactions to the use of film, the majority of teachers and Head Start directors questioned noted that films often have to be ordered a year in advance, with little opportunity for previewing, thus severely limiting flexibility in their use. Administrative details and procedures need clarification and study; in addition, the cost of equipment and of film rental is still considered prohibitive, although federal funds were mentioned as helping somewhat.

That film use can be effective and imaginative when these problems have been eliminated, or at least lessened, is being illustrated by an experimental program known as Project Discovery, sponsored and financed jointly by Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc. and Bell and Howell. Project Discovery involves the equipping of four schools of varying socio-economic status with a library of over 500 films and 1,000 filmstrips and equipment for viewing in every classroom.

Scott Montgomery School in Washington, D. C., represents an inner-city disadvantaged school in the experiment. Scott Montgomery's Principal, Mr. Nathaniel Dixon, gave this description of his school:

The children attending the school come from overcrowded homes, 40-60 percent of which have only one parent--usually the mother.

14. Dr. Keith Osborn. "Implications from Project Head Start." A paper presented at a conference on "Children and Books in a Changing World;" Tarreytown, New York, May 19-20, 1966.

The average educational attainment of the parents is Grade 7. There is a yearly turnover of 40 percent in the student body.¹⁵

Mrs. Roberta Henley, teacher of junior primary (a special class between kindergarten and first grade) cited the greatest problem in working with these children as "lack of communication." She outlined several barriers:

- 1) daydreaming (serious basic daydreams such as "Will I have lunch at home?" or "Will the house be cold?")
- 2) disinterest (because parents show little interest in their work)
- 3) words themselves
- 4) physical discomfort of room (overcrowded, with no space to call one's own.)

How has Project Discovery helped? Mrs. Henley has observed the following results:

a new interest has been created,
the children enjoy school more,
they have increased curiosity,
they learn to sit still,
they learn skills faster--they are beginning readiness books in
January as opposed to April last year.¹⁶

Mrs. Bernice Smith, a third grade teacher, reported:

- 1) films help orient the children
- 2) films give children experiences so that they can discuss experiences which it may be impossible for them to have first hand (until a child is familiar with an object such as an elevator, there is nothing which he can say about it)
- 3) films and filmstrips motivate the children to do independent work (they find further information in encyclopedias, read and purchase books and even records which relate to what they have learned from films.)¹⁷

15. Nathaniel Dixon. Report to Educational Media Council, Washington, D. C., January 12, 1966.

16. Mrs. Roberta Henley. Report to Educational Media Council, Washington, D. C., January 12, 1966.

17. Mrs. Bernice Smith. Report to Educational Media Council, Washington, D. C., January 12, 1966.

It was emphasized repeatedly that films and other media are tools just as books are. It is the availability of the materials which is the key to the success of Project Discovery. As Mr. Dixon stated, "The secret is what you want when you want it."¹⁸

Innovations such as 8mm sound films in cartridges which merely have to be inserted into a portable rear projection unit allow children to view films independently. Bank Street College of Education is preparing a series of these for use in inner city schools. Representative content will be the live filming of celebrities such as Harry Belafonte reading storybooks. As the story is read, the pages of the book are shown, so a child can easily follow along in his own book. These films are also proving useful for parental instruction in the art of reading aloud to children.

Filmstrips and Slides

Low cost and versatility are the two assets of these types of materials. Any teacher is capable of producing a useful material and local production offers many possibilities because of the desirability of familiar scenes and locale, with which the children can easily identify.

Imaginative use of both is being demonstrated throughout the country. Centennial School District in Johnsville, Pennsylvania, produces its own color slide sets and uses them extensively. A typical set of 15-20 might include slides of a doll, a comic strip character, a store window, a zoo animal, a painting, a pet, a street corner, a bull dozer, and a fireplug. These can serve not only to identify objects by name and to stimulate conversations, but also to help the children learn concepts. For instance, slides are also included which challenge the children's ability to distinguish field from ground, to recognize weather conditions, and other similar concepts.

In Pueblo, Colorado, a teacher reported that slides and a synchronized tape are used for orientation with the children. The slides are designed to present a brief history of the school, the key personnel, a positive approach toward necessary rules, and an attempt to raise the self-image of those who need it by having them demonstrate the "right way to do things."

"Film trips" are San Diego's answer to problems resulting from a budget insufficient for field trips throughout the community. These are filmstrips about aspects of the community such as the airport, harbor, telephone company, art gallery, theaters, museums, transportation and orchards.

Tapes

Nonverbal children have exhibited a surprising amount of verbal response to taped questions in contrast to their usual hesitancy in speaking

18. Nathaniel Dixon. Ibid.

in the presence of a teacher or adult. The tape recorder also permits a story or lesson to be repeated several times so children can hear it as often as desired without constant supervision. Gotkin and Fondiller cite these two attributes of tape recorders, as they consider use of recorders a valuable tool to supplement the teacher's direct work with the individual child at a nursery enrichment program at the Institute of Developmental Studies, New York Medical College.¹⁹

In response to a letter concerning the use of media in her classroom Mrs. Elizabeth M. Ongley, a teacher in Second School District, Meadville Area School District, Meadville, Pa., sent scripts and accompanying home-made booklets for tape recordings she has written and made for use with kindergarten children. In one, "The Color Game" the children are instructed to insert colored discs into designated pockets of the construction paper booklet and verbally answer the questions, according to the taped instructions. The script is recorded three times on a 600 ft. tape with a good lead between recordings, allowing the children to operate the machine. Such sets are easy to produce and can be designed to elicit responses both physical and verbal from the children and thereby hold their attention.

Programed Instruction

The findings of the Reading Improvement Project of the Center for Programed Instruction have some implications for the use of programed texts or machines with disadvantaged children. During Lassar Gotkin's two years with the project, programed instructional lessons directed at teaching a number of skills designed to upgrade the reading ability and subject matter vocabulary of seventh and eighth graders who read at the fourth grade level were written, tested, and found to be largely unsatisfactory in achieving this goal. Failure was partly due to these two factors:

1. The children had only limited competence in the very skills required in reading from programed textbooks. Errors were made in comparing their answers with those provided in the books, and errors made once were repeated throughout the lesson and in post tests. A control which would prevent the child from proceeding until he had "corrected his errors" would seem to be needed.
2. The vocabulary and reading comprehension of the subjects limited the vocabulary and concepts of the written textbook even though the students could understand more sophisticated concepts when expressed verbally.

19. Lassar G. Gotkin and Fay Fondiller. "Listening Centers in the Kindergarten," Volume 10, Audiovisual Instruction. January 1965. p. 24-25.

Since then Gotkin has been working with machines for research and instructional purposes with five-year-olds from disadvantaged backgrounds. The machine being used is the Edison Responsive Environment instrument (ERE), commonly known as the talking typewriter. It consists of a typewriter keyboard, a letter pointer, a slide projector, a keyboard voice, and a sentence voice, all of which can be used separately or combined in various ways. The keyboard "locks" when a particular letter in a lesson is to be typed, so that only the correct key can be depressed, and the child knows immediately whether or not he has found the desired letter.

The results of such research should benefit teachers. The aims are to reveal reliable techniques and procedures for visual and auditory skill instruction which can be adapted by the teacher; to yield recommendations for the improved design of classroom materials; to define the proper role of devices such as the ERE in beginning reading instruction; and if the latter can be done, to recommend modifications of such devices to better serve the needs of classroom teachers.²⁰

Television

Little or no use is being made of commercial television in the education of culturally disadvantaged children even though statistics show that 94% of all homes have at least one set. Here, obviously, is a potential channel to poverty stricken homes, a channel which is not being effectively utilized. Television's influence on language habits, vocabulary, consumer patterns, cultural values and behavior patterns should not be underestimated. That television communicates effectively is evident in the success of many commercial products: witness the Batman fads, the cereal and "cosmetic" products purchased, the expression such as "would you believe?"

However, commercial television currently requires too little of receivers, merely a passive reaction to the program being received. It is like looking at life through a window, when what is needed is some kind of involvement if learning is to take place.

Miami, Florida's "Time for School" ETV telecasts have shown promise in the education of deprived children and have made an impact on parents as well. Better home and school relationships are represented.²¹

20. Lassar G. Gotkin. "The Machine and the Child," AV Communication Review. Volume 14, Summer 1966. p. 221-241.

21. Joe L. Frost and Glenn B. Hawke, (eds.). "Preschool Programs for the Deprived Child," in The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1966. p. 195.

Other communities, through a combination of educational and commercial television stations are attempting to reach preschool children in their homes. Beck²² in a rather extensive discussion in Audiovisual Instruction describes the efforts of Albuquerque, Denver, Memphis, Miami, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh and others. Target audience for the WETA-TV series in Washington, D. C. is the disadvantaged child.

The WETA series is directed toward two specific educational objectives:

- 1) to introduce into the daily school schedule a variety of experiences and activities which are highly desirable but need not be presented by the teachers in their classroom with the traditional store of teaching resources
- 2) to enrich and extend through audiovisual techniques, the daily activities in which the students regularly participate.

These and other community efforts hold promise of changing the life pattern of many disadvantaged children. Hopefully, too, such contacts through the medium of television will stimulate parents in depressed areas to seek educational opportunities for their children.

What, then, are the "next steps" for the Educational Media Council?

It seems to us then, as a committee of the Educational Media Council concerned with media and the culturally disadvantaged that several possibilities are open to action:

1. Beginnings might be made of a comprehensive directory of available media sources
2. The council might develop and made available to teachers guidelines for selection and effective use of materials for use with the disadvantaged
3. Encouragement to schools for the development of demonstration centers for preparation, selection, and evaluation of materials may be a possibility
4. Regional centers for the efficient distribution of films and similar materials could be explored (see letter to Frank Anderson of Encyclopedia Britannica, page E-19, also investigate Nashville's newly funded Mid-Tenn Project).

22. Lester F. Beck. "ETV for Pre-Schoolers," Audiovisual Instruction. Volume II. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, September 1966. p. 528-533.

5. Efforts should be directed toward greater parent and community involvement in the utilization of readily available media--could several "pilot" ventures in cooperation with commercial television outlets be considered?
6. Preservice training for teachers at the elementary level in the use of a wide range of material should be required as part of state certification of teachers.
7. In-service training at the local level should be encouraged and guidelines prepared to help administrators develop a continuous program for this. Occasional institutes, benefiting a few teachers are not enough.

With these small beginnings ultimately the Educational Media Council and other educational agencies may effect an impact on programs for disadvantaged children and all children.

September 20, 1966

Mr. Frank Anderson
Director of Development
Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc.
Wilmette, Illinois

Dear Mr. Anderson:

As a result of the Princeton meeting on Project Opportunity, which John Bardwell and I were fortunate enough to attend, the Educational Media Council invited Nat Dixon to speak at its next meeting. Once again he brought along two of his teachers and the three of them succeeded in arousing considerable excitement and interest, since our study involves the use of media with the disadvantaged.

The final report and recommendations for USOE are in preparation now, and I would like to include further information about the outcomes of the Princeton meeting with the Great Cities representatives. As I understand it, in Washington money was appropriated but Title I funds were overextended so this "Opportunity" project has been placed on standby until more money is available. I would be most grateful if you could send me the facts and figures on this and other projects which are being implemented or planned for the future. We feel that a great deal can be learned from this type of project and are anxious to see the findings of research and evaluation.

What is the status of the Discovery film on Scott Montgomery School? The slides which were shown at the DAVI convention were quite good, and a film would be even more effective because it would be able to record the enthusiasm generated by both faculty and children.

I hoped to be able to talk to you in San Diego, but those were hectic days for all concerned!

I shall look forward to hearing from you and hope that I have not requested the impossible at this time.

Sincerely yours,

WST:gs

(Miss) Wenda S. Thompson
Administrative Assistant

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA FILMS INC
425 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

October 3, 1966

Miss Wenda S. Thompson
Administrative Assistant
Educational Media Council
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Miss Thompson:

Nice to hear from you after all these months.

We've not moved as rapidly as we'd hoped we might in Project Opportunity. Our company has just reorganized and both staff and money have been shifted so we don't sometimes know what is happening.

Presently, we have three cities working in Project Opportunity - Buffalo, Philadelphia and Chicago. In all, there are nineteen attendance centers with about 13,000 children and 475 teachers involved. We are still trying to interest an independent research group in Opportunity.

Project Springboard in Oregon is being conducted by the State Department of Education there. Henry Ruark is coordinator of the operations and Dr. Leo Myers, Assistant Superintendent for Development, is coordinating the research. Nine schools are involved and are acquiring materials and equipment from several producers and manufacturers. I don't happen to have a spare prospectus to give you now but Henry Ruark could furnish you with one. In addition, you may wish to review Educational Screen and Audio-Visual Guide - the May, 1966, issue, I believe - for detailed information.

The thrust in Springboard is to find out (1) who are the effective change agents and mechanisms in an educational innovation and (2) what are the attitudinal and motivational changes in administrators, teachers, children and patrons as a result of media availability.

The Lincoln, Nebraska, project is one in which you'd be interested. There, the University of Nebraska team, under the direction of Wes Meierhenry, is developing a research design (probably analysis of co-variance) to measure differences in learning, particularly in language arts, between

Miss Wenda S. Thompson
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children in a deprived school and children in a favored school when both are saturated with visual media. We can give you further details.

The Wisconsin Higher Education Project is not yet really off the ground. It will seek to find if the campus laboratory school can be used as an appropriate research and demonstration center for disseminating innovations and techniques. They will simply use a saturated media situation as the vehicle for project action. Dr. Patrick Monahan, Assistant Professor of Education, Wisconsin State University, Whitewater, is chairman of the research planning group.

Wenda, we've got several smaller things going and I think you need another trip to Chicago, anyway, so I'll wait until you come out to see us. Wayne Howell is working on several interesting things now, too.

The Project Discovery report will be out in late October or early November according to Sid Eboch of Ohio State. You might put the pressure of the Council on Sid so he'll hurry the report along.

The second Project Discovery film was shot at Daly City, California, and Washington, D. C. Wayne tells me it will be released in early November. We've had quite a time shortening it sufficiently. It's easy to shoot kids and shoot kids and shoot kids, you know.

Come out and see us.

Who's your new boss?

Sincerely,

/s/ Frank Anderson
/t/ Frank A. Anderson, Director
Educational Services

FAA:go

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1965. p. 8-9.

A MODEL FOR DEVELOPING RELEVANT CONTENT
FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

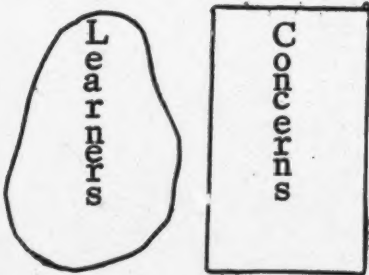
by

Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein

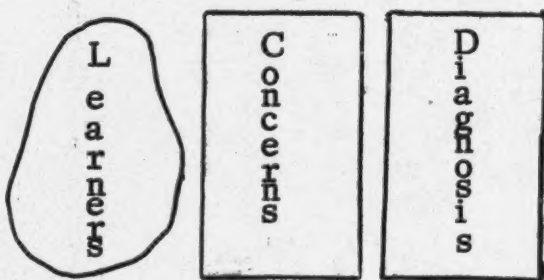
1. Who is the learning group?



2. What cues indicate patterns of affective or emotional concerns of this group?



3. How and why have the distinctive manifestations of concern patterns
emerged for the identified learning group?



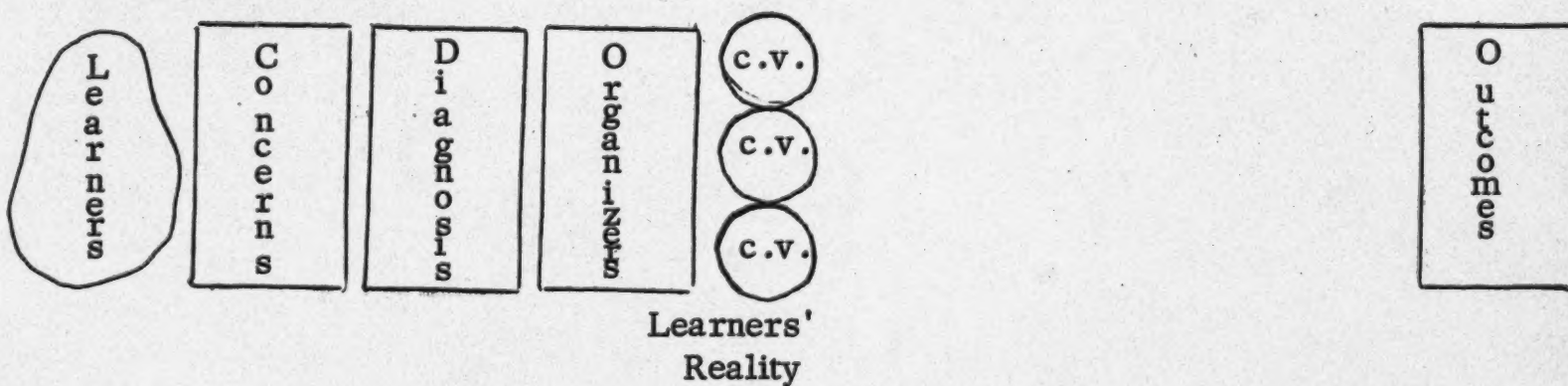
4. What would we like to see occur in the learner's behavior that would be different from what we observe now?



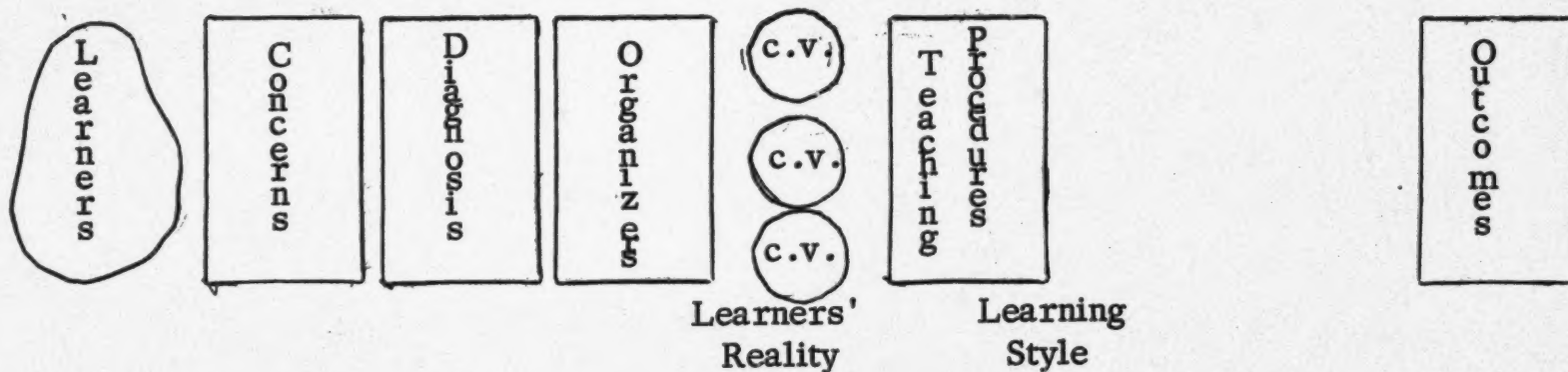
5. What organizers can be used to integrate the concerns, desired outcomes and the instructional program?



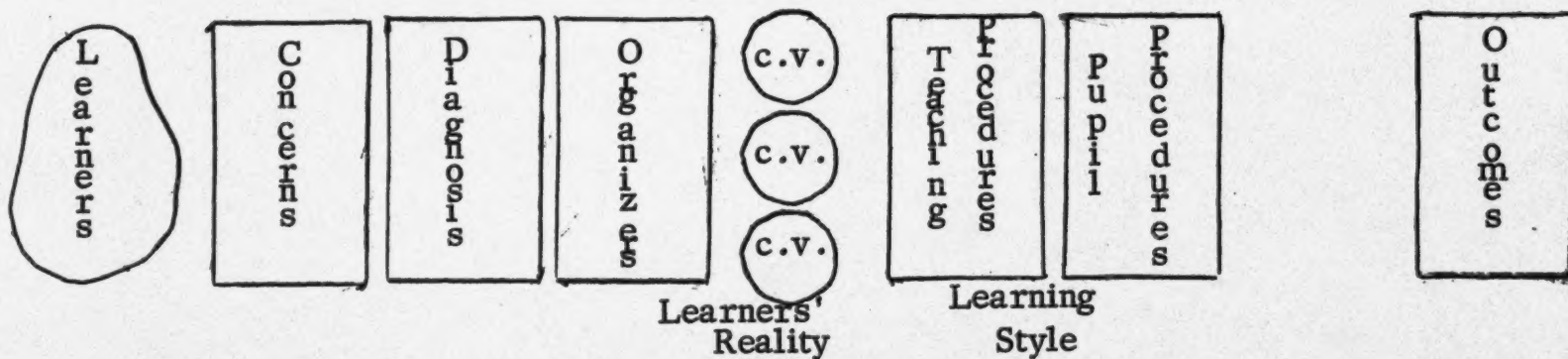
6. What content vehicles can be utilized to tap into the organizer we have established?



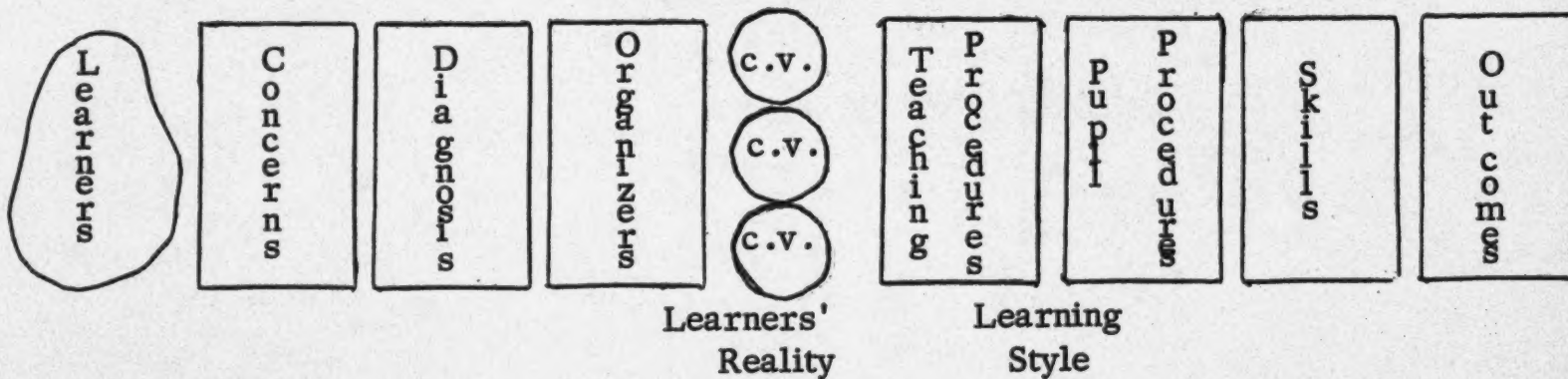
7. What teaching procedures, strategies, or methods are most appropriate to the learners' style and for developing the desired outcomes?



8. What procedures, ways of thinking, examining, behaving, would the learners need in order to attain the desired outcomes?



9. What skills does the learner have and/or need in order to expand his base of resources for attaining the concepts, procedures and outcomes?



APPENDIX F,

Staff Paper Number Two

A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NEW MEDIA

AND

THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

E

M

C

The

Educational Media Council

Staff Paper Number Two

A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON NEW MEDIA
AND
THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

Prepared by Wenda Thompson

April 1966

The Educational Media Council
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

FOREWORD

The Educational Media Council is composed of representatives of fifteen national nonprofit organizations, including a core of professional education associations. The Council is concerned with educational applications of the entire range of educational media and materials from books to films, television, programmed instruction and instructional systems.

In 1959 the Educational Media Council entered into a contract with the U. S. Office of Education for the study and analysis of the role that the newer media can play in two programs of national concern: vocational education and retraining and programs for the education of the culturally disadvantaged. This study required the concentration of the resources of the Council and its member organizations on the problem of providing for the best possible use of educational media in two programs where such materials can make a significant impact in the direction of improving education and training.

This selective bibliography, prepared by Wenda Thompson, administrative assistant of the Educational Media Council, is the second of a series of staff papers which will evolve from an analysis of current programs on vocational education and retraining and in the education of the culturally disadvantaged to determine the optimum role which might be played by media and media organizations.

John D. Bardwell
Executive Director

A Project Funded under a Contract with the
United States Office of Education

EDUCATIONAL MEDIA COUNCIL

Member Organizations

American Book Publishers Council

American Library Association

American Textbook Publishers Institute

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA

Department of Audiovisual Instruction, NEA

Educational Film Library Association

Electronic Industries Association

National Association of Educational Broadcasters

National Audio-Visual Association

National Center for School and College Television

National Educational Television

National Society for Programmed Instruction

National University Extension Association

Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers

University Film Producers Association

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EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED

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Section V

RELATED RESEARCH AND PROJECTS

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B. Ongoing Research Studies:

U.S. Office of Education, Division of Adult and Vocational Research

NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE
New York, New York

Title: The Development of a Beginning Reading Skills Program
Principal Investigator: Dr. Lassar G. Gotkin, Research Associate,
Institute for Developmental Studies and
Assistant Professor (Research), Department
of Psychiatry
Duration: July 9, 1965 - October 31, 1966.
Project Summary Number: ERD-066-65

SAN BERNADINO VALLEY COLLEGE
San Bernadino, California

Title: Project NOTIFY--Needed Occupational Television Instruction for Youth
Principal Investigator: William Lawson
Duration: June 1, 1965 - May 31, 1966.
Project Summary Number: EO-138-65

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California

Title: Production of a Motion Picture for the Training of Teachers in Problems
of Human Relations in Teaching the Socially and Economically
Disadvantaged
Principal Investigator: Henry S. Breitrose, Instructor in Film and Research
Associate, Institute for Communication Research,
Broadcasting and Film Division
Duration: April 15, 1965 - April 14, 1966.
Project Summary Number: ERD-077-65

C. Compensatory Education Projects

As outlined in Robert D. Hess, Inventory of Compensatory Education Projects.
Report prepared by Urban Child Center, School of Education,
University of Chicago, 1965.
(mimeographed).

BRENTWOOD PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD
Brentwood, New York

Title: FABRIC (Ford and Brentwood's Research in Curriculum)
Project Director: Raymond L. Scheele, Chairman
Secondary Education Department
Hofstra College
Duration: February 1963 - July 1966.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California

Title: An Automated Primary-Grade Reading and Arithmetic Curriculum
for Culturally Deprived Children
Project Director: Patrick Suppes, Director of the Institute for Mathematical
Studies in the Social Sciences, and Richard C. Atkinson,
Associate Professor of Psychology and Education
Duration: July 1, 1964 - June 30, 1967.

BOARD OF EDUCATION, ELEMENTARY DIVISION
New York, New York

Title: Development of Programed Materials in Reading Skills to Meet
Needs of Retarded Readers from Disadvantaged Areas, Grades 1-6
Project Director: Helene M. Lloyd, Assistant Superintendent, Division
of Elementary Schools
Duration: 1963 - 1966.

CHILD STUDY CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
Denver, Colorado

Title: A Non-Verbal Approach to Introductory and Remedial Reading
Instruction
Project Director: David Elkind, Associate Professor
Director, Child Study Center
Duration: September 1962 - ongoing.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Title: The Effect of Programmed Instruction on Special Skills During the
Preschool Period on Later Ability Patterns and Academic Achievement

Project Director: Eugene R. Long
Professor of Psychology

Duration: July 1, 1962 - October 31, 1965.

D. Sample Grants under Title I of theElementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**ALABAMA****Dallas County - Selma**

Description: Learning Resource Center
Agency: Dallas County School System
Appropriation: \$628,336.09

Macon County - Tuskegee

Description: The Establishment of an Instructional Media Center
Agency: Macon County Board of Education
Appropriation: \$476,881.20

ARIZONA**Apache County - Nutrioso**

Description: Purchase of Teaching Machines, Audiovisual Equipment
and Materials in the Area of Remedial Instruction
Agency: Nutrioso Elementary District #4
Appropriation: \$1,717.19

Graham County - Phoenix

Description: Educational Television in Critical Subject Areas
Agency: Isaac Elementary School District #5
Appropriation: \$52,720.00

Yuma County - Parker

Description: Audiovisual Center
Agency: Yuma County School District #27
Appropriation: \$28,578.60

FLORIDA**Broward County - Fort Lauderdale**

Description: Establish an Instructional Television Center to Improve
the Education of Disadvantaged Children
Agency: Broward County
Appropriation: \$620,153.00

Gadsden County - Quincy

Description: Improvement of Instruction Through Audiovisual Equipment
 Agency: Gadsden County Board of Public Instruction
 Appropriation: \$214,501.00

GEORGIA

Burke County - Waynesboro

Description: Providing Instructional Materials and Equipment for
 Culturally Deprived Children
 Agency: Burke County Board of Education
 Appropriation: \$458,991.30

INDIANA

Vigo County - Terre Haute

Description: Instructional Materials Center
 Agency: Vigo County School Corporation
 Appropriation: \$90,959.41

NEW JERSEY

Mercer County - Trenton

Description: Enrich Film Program
 Agency: Trenton Board of Education
 Appropriation: \$30,000.00

West Paterson

Description: Programmed Instruction of Deprived Students
 Agency: West Paterson Board of Education
 Appropriation: \$6,907.00

NORTH DAKOTA

Burleigh County - Bismarck

Description: Educational Television for Music Program for Grades 1-2
 Agency: Bismarck Public School District #1
 Appropriation: \$13,258.00

OREGON

Multnomah County - Portland

Description: Produce 3 Radio and 1 Television Series
Agency: Multnomah County School District #1
Appropriation: \$64,843.00

Multnomah County - Portland

Description: Television Art Classes
Agency: Lynch School District #28
Appropriation: \$26,461.60

WASHINGTON

Clallam County - Joyce

Description: Improve Audiovisual Program
Agency: Crescent School District #313
Appropriation: \$800.00

Island County - Coupeville

Description: Install Educational Television Equipment and Initiate
ETV Instruction
Agency: Coupeville School District #33
Appropriation: \$2,615.33